DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 461 565 SO 029 097

AUTHOR	Stahl, Robert J.
TITLE	Liberty! The American Revolution. Education Kit.
INSTITUTION	Twin Cities Public Television, St. Paul, MN.; Public Broadcasting Service, Washington, DC.
SPONS AGENCY	National Endowment for the Humanities (NFAH), Washington, DC.; Arthur Vining Davis Foundations, Jacksonville, FL.
PUB DATE	1997-00-00
NOTE	476p.; Index prepared by Osterman Associates, Newton, MA. Accompanying videotapes not available from ERIC. Posters contain cropped images. Produced in association with Middlemarch Films. Also funded by Norwest Corporation and Eberly Foundation.
AVAILABLE FROM	PBS Video, P.O. Box 751089, Charlotte, NC 28275 ($249.95). Tel: 800-727-7467 (Toll Free); Fax: 703-8131; Web site: http://teacher.shop.pbs.org.
PUB TYPE	Guides - Classroom - Teacher (052) -- Non-Print Media (100)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Colonial History (United States); Elementary Secondary Education; instructional Materials; Political Attitudes; *Revolutionary War (United States); Social Studies; Teaching Guides; United States History
IDENTIFIERS	Public Broadcasting Service

ABSTRACT

This series covers the birth of the American republic, from the first rumblings of rebellion against Britain through the long Revolutionary War and the creation of the Constitution. By defeating the British Army and creating a nation based upon popular sovereignty, Americans open up an entirely new set of political possibilities for mankind. This deluxe teaching edition comes with the complete series on six tapes especially formatted for the classroom use and a curriculum kit. The curriculum kit contains the 80-page teacher's guide, a guide to resources to show students where they can go for even more information, or resource packet that includes 70 reproducible primary source documents with activities for students, a set of comprehensive chronology and timeline posters tracing more than 100 critical events of the American Revolution, and video segment index. (AA)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 461 565

Liberty! The American Revolution Education Kit

Developed and Edited by Robert J. Stahl

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE, AND IN ELECTRONIC MEDIA FOR ERIC COLLECTION SUBSCRIBERS ONLY, HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

K. Yankowski

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

2A

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

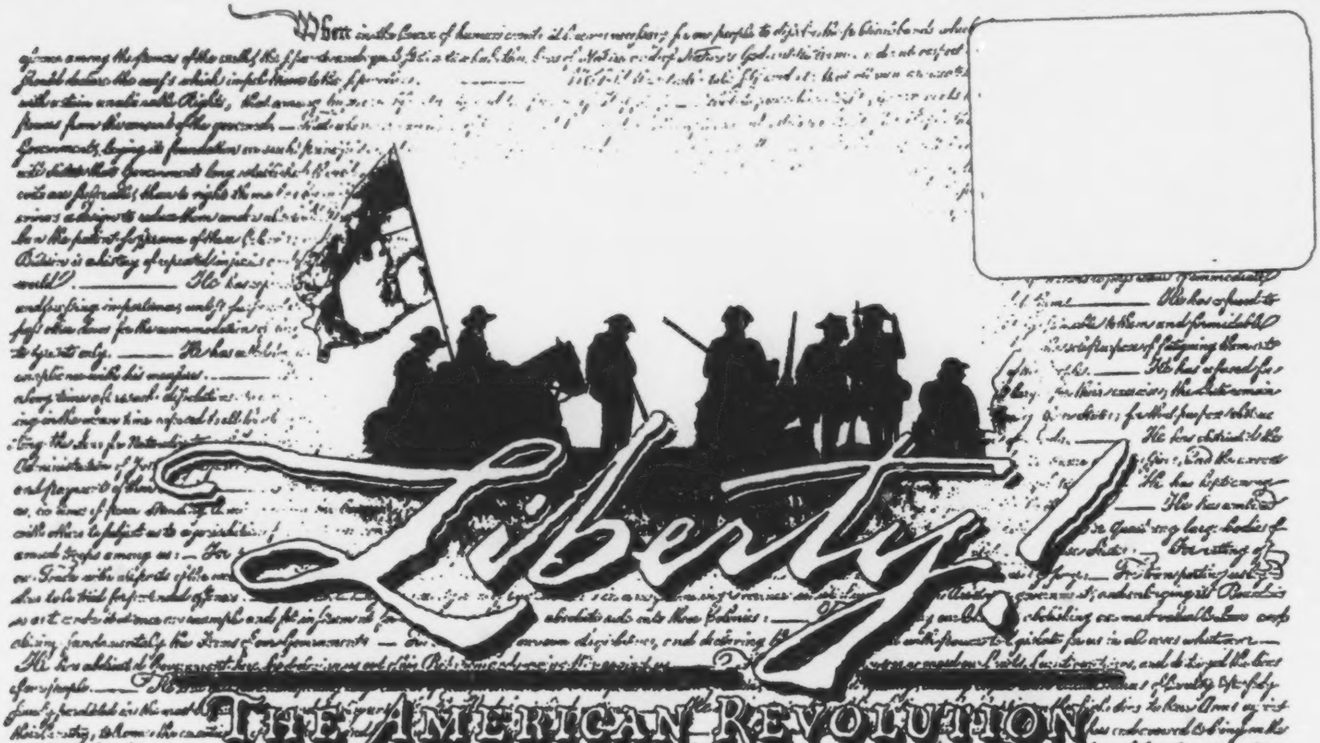
- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

SO 029 097

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America.

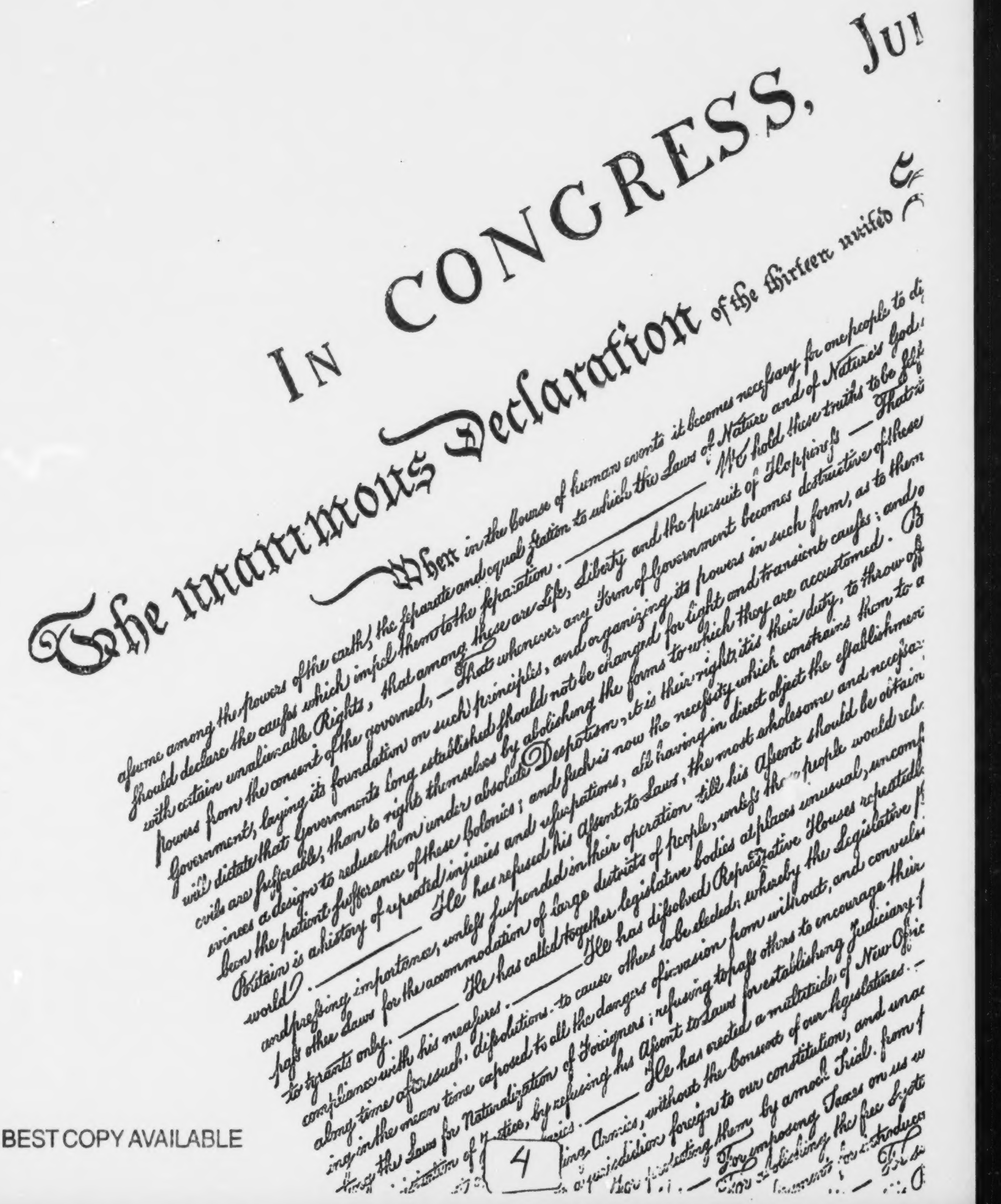


Liberty!

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

PBS VIDEO TEACHER'S GUIDE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



IN CONGRESS, JU

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united S

When in the Course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to di
assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God
should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. —— We hold these truths to be self
with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. —— That
powers from the consent of the governed, —— That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these
Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them
will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and
evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. B
evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw o
been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to a
Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishmen
world. —— He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessa
and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtain
pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would reli
to tyrants only. —— He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncom
compliance with his measures. —— He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedl
along time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative p
ing in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsi
ting the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their
istration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary p
ics. —— He has erected a multitude of New Offic
ing Armies, without the Consent of our legislatures. —
a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and una
protecting them, by a mock Trial, from p
For imposing Taxes on us w
For abolishing the free Syst

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Liberty!

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

PBS VIDEO

TEACHER'S GUIDE

Liberty!
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS AND REVIEWERS

DEVELOPER AND EDITOR

Robert J. Stahl
Social Studies Education
Arizona State University
Box 871911
Tempe, AZ 85287-1911

CONTRIBUTORS

Peter Petard
Cynthia Burns
Glenene Brown
William Fetsko
School and Group Services
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
Box 1776
Williamsburg, VA 23187

Nancy N. Stahl (also Assistant to the Editor)
Gifted Education Specialist
Arizona Department of Education
1535 West Jefferson Street
Phoenix, AZ 85007

Linda Miller
Social Studies Department
Fairfax High School
3500 Old Lee Highway
Fairfax, VA 22030

Peter D.G. Thomas
Professor of History
The University of Wales
Penglais-Aberystwyth
Ceredigion SY23 3DY
United Kingdom

Jean Price
Social Studies Department
T. H. Rogers School
5840 San Felipe
Houston, TX 77057

Michael G. Sams
Social Studies Teacher
Lafayette High School
4460 Longhill Road
Williamsburg, VA 23188
James A. Percoco
Social Studies Department
West Springfield High School
6100 Rolling Road
Springfield, VA 22152

Ronald L. Torretto
Social Studies Department
Grossmont High School
1100 Murray Drive
La Mesa, CA 91944

Michael Adessa
Graduate Research Assistant
Social Studies Education
Arizona State University
Tempe, AZ 85287-1911

Randy Mitchell
Chobya Middle School
Santa Clara County Schools
San Jose, CA 95111

REVIEWERS

Dean S. Cristol
Department of Educational Curriculum
and Instruction
Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, OH 43403-0252

Ray E. Wong
Department of Teacher Education
1304 University Circle
Weber State University
Ogden, UT 84408-1304

COPY EDITOR

Heidi Vierow

PBS VIDEO
1320 Braddock Place • Alexandria, VA 22314-1698 • 1-800-344-3337
© All print materials. Public Broadcasting Service, 1997
PBS VIDEO is a department of the Public Broadcasting Service. PBS VIDEOindex™ is a trademark of the Public Broadcasting Service.

TABLE OF *Contents*

INTRODUCTION TO THE VIDEO SERIES

Components of the LIBERTY! THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION Curriculum Package. 4
Background and Context for the American Revolution 5
Background and Context for the American Revolutionary War 9
The Videos: An Overview 10
A Special Note 10
Student Learning Expectations for the Entire Series 11
Guides for Planning, Instruction and Assessment: Components of Each Module 13
Table of Student Resources in the Resource Packet 14
Set of Graphics' Titles List 17

MODULES TO ACCOMPANY EACH VIDEO

MODULE I: The Reluctant Revolutionaries

· Unifying Concepts and Themes 19
· Key Vocabulary 19
· Student Learning Expectations 19
· Synopsis of the Video. 20
· Suggested Enrichment Activities 23
· Additional Questions for Discussion 25
· Student Resources 26

MODULE II: Blows Must Decide

· Unifying Concepts and Themes 45
· Key Vocabulary 45
· Student Learning Expectations 45
· Synopsis of the Video. 46
· Suggested Enrichment Activities 50
· Additional Questions for Discussion 51
· Student Resources 52

MODULE III: The Times That Try Men's Souls

- Unifying Concepts and Themes 63
- Key Vocabulary 63
- Student Learning Expectations 63
- Synopsis of the Video 64
- Suggested Enrichment Activities 66
- Additional Questions for Discussion 66
- Student Resources 68

MODULE IV: Oh, Fatal Ambition

- Unifying Concepts and Themes 77
- Key Vocabulary 77
- Student Learning Expectations 77
- Synopsis of the Video 78
- Suggested Enrichment Activities 81
- Additional Questions for Discussion 81
- Student Resources 83

MODULE V: The World Turned Upside Down

- Unifying Concepts and Themes 91
- Key Vocabulary 91
- Student Learning Expectations 91
- Synopsis of the Video 92
- Suggested Enrichment Activities 94
- Additional Questions for Discussion 95
- Student Resources 96

MODULE VI: Are We to Be a Nation?

- Unifying Concepts and Themes 105
- Key Vocabulary 105
- Student Learning Expectations 105
- Synopsis of the Video 106
- Suggested Enrichment Activities 109
- Additional Questions for Discussion 109
- Student Resources 111

Liberty!
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

INTRODUCTION

In July 1815, more than thirty years after the signing of the Treaty of Paris that ended the American Revolutionary War, Thomas Jefferson asked John Adams these three questions: "Who shall write the history of the American revolution? Who can write it? Who will ever be able to write it?" Historians have been answering these questions ever since—and often with quite different answers. But historians know that there can never be an ultimate history of any event, much less of events and a period as extensive as what we call the American Revolution and the American Revolutionary War. There can only be histories of these—histories as stories told from particular perspectives in particular years and for particular reasons. Each story is a unique reconstructed version of past events. Each leaves out far more than it reveals. Each offers but a glimpse of a small portion of the events, people, ideas, feelings, experiences and actions that years afterward still warrant the interests of those who never were there and can never be there.

The colonial army started out as a rag-tag group and ended by defeating the most powerful army in the world.

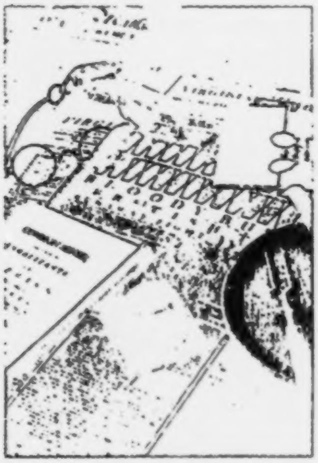
LIBERTY! THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, the video series, is one story of the events and the era known as the American Revolution. The story weaves in important concepts and ideas that were invented by the people of the time and in the many places included within the American Revolution. These concepts included liberty, freedom, power, democracy, sovereignty, self-government, representative government and rights. Many of these concepts meant something very different to those who lived in the eighteenth century than they mean to most of us today. Even the concepts of rebellion and revolution warrant definition and reflection in terms of their meaning to British citizens in the late 1700s. These concepts served as justifications for the actions of individuals on both sides of the Atlantic; as the bases for major issues and disagreements that sharply divided families, entire communities, colonies and an empire; and, for some, as causes for which people risked their lives and property, fought and died—and built an entirely new form of government. Many of the most important issues, perceptions and ideas of the American Revolution were linked to key concepts that Americans still cherish today.

The authors believe one important way to interpret the events, decisions and actions of the American Revolution is in light of ideas and perceptions that seemed to have guided people's thinking, feelings and judgments. For example, people did not terrorize, fight and kill their fellow citizens; tar and feather them; hang them and documents in effigy; declare independence from the most powerful nation in the world; or throw 342 boxes of tea overboard while dressed as Indians for no reason. People did these things because there were ideas that were very important to them as they interpreted these from their personal perspectives. The importance of these concepts and ideas in shaping decisions and actions is elaborated briefly below.

Liberty is but a word. No person in the American Revolution fought or died for the word liberty. Each fought or died because of what it meant to him or her. The meanings that many colonists understood about liberty were important enough to them that they willingly broke laws, openly and repeatedly resisted the authority of an empire, declared independence, fought an eight-year war and framed and reframed a government that they believed was aligned with their meanings. The same can be said for words such as sovereignty, freedom, property, inalienable rights and each word that was crucial to this period. This is no less true in every war we have fought, in every courtroom where the rights of citizens and of human beings are considered and in every action that we take in light of liberty in our everyday lives. Back then as now, Americans were concerned about liberty and their liberties in light of what these meant to them. It is the meanings and not the word itself that guided their decisions and actions. Words such as authority, tyranny,-freedom, rights, representation, enslavement, rebellion and revolution were also frequently and widely used to justify, defend, label, promote, motivate and shape the actions of men and women on both sides of the Atlantic. In every instance, it was the meanings of these words that ignited the actions and motivated people to continue to act. Because the definitions of liberty and other concepts were so important to the people on both sides of the Atlantic from the 1750s through the 1790s, no history of the American Revolution can be complete or adequate without viewing the events that took place through the lenses of liberty, tyranny, authority, natural rights, sovereignty, etc.

At the same time no story of the American Revolution can be complete or adequate without accepting how deeply proud the colonists of 1763–1776 were of being British. The colonists realized that being British allowed them the most civil rights and liberty, the most freedom, the lowest taxes, the most representation and the fewest problems with arbitrary authority (which they called tyranny) than any people in any nation in the Western world. The colonists appreciated these while enjoying the most prosperous economic system in the world. The colonists toasted King George III and the British Constitution. They boasted of the quality of life under both. The colonists so much wanted to remain British that two months after the Continental Congress voted on July 2, 1776, to sever all political ties with Britain, even Thomas Jefferson wanted Americans to reconcile their differences with Britain. People today have forgotten the intensity of the colonists' loyalty to and pride in Britain and what it stood for in the 1760s and 1770s in the areas of political and civil liberty, freedom and rights. Nearly all the colonists loved being British. Until very late in the war, most wanted to remain British.

Broadsides tacked up in a variety of public places were a primary means of communication during the colonial period.



Being British contributed significantly to the disagreements that dominated the thinking and actions of people on both sides of the Atlantic after 1763. For instance, the colonists based nearly all of their opposition to events in England and in the colonies on their interpretations of the British Constitution and their rights as citizens of Britain. Throughout much of the period between 1765 through 1776, there were public protests, disobedience of the law and legal authorities, destruction of property, lawlessness and petitions to royal officials. Those involved in these actions claimed they were exercising as well as protecting their rights as British citizens. Many claimed that they were protecting the natural rights endowed to them by their Creator. They also claimed that these natural rights had higher authority than the British constitution. Meanwhile, members of Parliament and eventually King George III challenged the colonists' views of the Constitution and their views of the rights of colonists as citizens in the empire.

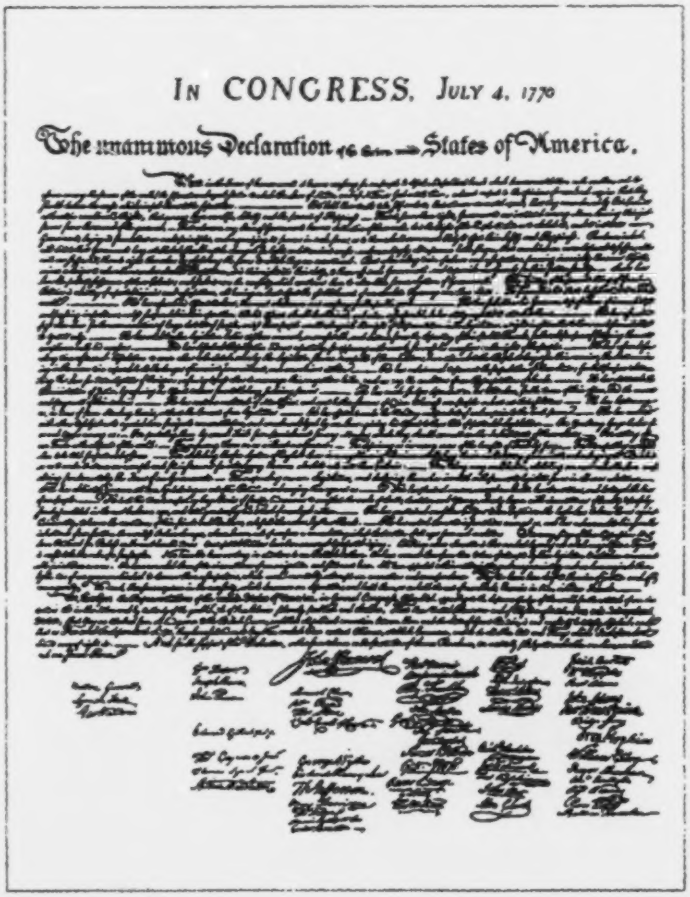
One of the strongest points of disagreement between them concerned authority. In this era in British citizens' minds, authority was directly connected to liberty and the exercise of one's rights as a citizen: Lawful and appropriate use of authority would protect and expand personal liberty. The two sides disagreed on what or who had the highest authority in the Empire and in the individual colonies to govern the affairs of citizens within the colonies. By 1776, many colonists accepted that there was a higher authority than the king, Parliament and the British Constitution—as these were defined and defended by King George III and most members of Parliament. This higher authority came in the form of natural laws—and natural rights. Colonial leaders of the protesters claimed these natural rights preceded humans forming groups, societies and governments. So while the liberties and rights under Britain's system were the best in the world, to these colonists there existed greater liberties and more rights in the system provided by natural laws. It was these unalienable rights and what these meant to the colonists that Jefferson and his associates in Congress justified their decision for independence from Britain.

In the midst of the disagreements between the government officials representing Britain and those who opposed their actions, hundreds of thousands of colonists remained intensely loyal to King George III and the ideals, traditions and laws of Britain. These people are among the forgotten ones of this era. They obeyed the law; defended the king, Parliament and others; accepted the traditional views of rights and authority and believed Parliament had the right and authority to act as it did. Many of these people would be terrorized, attacked, intimidated or even killed for their loyalty in doing what was right according to Parliament's perceptions of governing the empire and the colonies within it. The views of these people are represented throughout the video.

This series is not a war story of battles, soldiers and troop movements, although some of these are included. The writers, directors and producers intentionally stayed away from refighting every important battle and reconstructing the lives of the leading politicians and generals. People in politics and those in the military, in their daily lives, are never totally isolated from one another or from the public opinion that oftentimes profoundly shapes events, decisions and actions. Much of what makes this period so revolutionary and important is the involvement of so many common people who were not politicians—or at least did not start out as politicians—and who did not become soldiers.

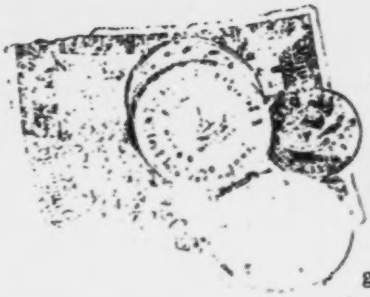
LIBERTY! emphasizes the thoughts, feelings, actions, desires, ambitions, hopes and experiences of people on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. The series invites one to view the American Revolution as a human experience and to sense how humans from different nations, walks of life, social positions, ages, occupations and genders reacted to and coped with the political and constitutional issues that dominated the times and with what was occurring in their lives.

The viewer of the series and the user of the materials in this Curriculum Package are encouraged to view the events, series and consequences of the American Revolution in the light of what the critical ideas and concepts, such as liberty, freedom, rights, even rebellion and revolution, meant to those of the era. In addition, perhaps these meanings may shed light on the meanings of these concepts in today's society as well as at different moments in our nation's history after the American Revolutionary


IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.
The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America.

Independence from Britain was initially declared on July 2, 1776, but was not ratified by the Continental Congress until July 4.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



Each colony made its own money until a national monetary system was finally established after the end of the war.

War. These meanings are important because they shaped the decisions made by the Founding Fathers in creating a new system of government. They continue to shape our own lives as we make decisions and act in a nation that continually has to negotiate contemporary meanings of laws, of Amendments, of actions, of rights and normative concepts such as liberty, freedom and happiness. In one real sense, because the concepts and ideas that became the American Revolution are still alive in our minds, beliefs and dialogues, the American Revolution has not ended. Indeed, it is likely the American Revolution will never end.

Ultimately the LIBERTY! video series hopes that your experiences during your hours of viewing will influence your thoughts and feelings about what occurred during the revolutionary era. The hope is that viewers will leave the series with a greater appreciation of the American Revolution, not merely as a war, but as events centering on conflicting and bold new ideas about politics, liberty and rights and the boldness of a few citizens to propose a new system of government described within the U.S. Constitution. More important, the series hopes that viewers will reconsider and perhaps revise their conceptions of this era, the events, the individuals and the issues that have become part of the legends and myths about the founding of this nation. In addition, the content of the series and the resources in this educational package will stimulate a new appreciation of the ideas and actions of the American Revolution and a reflection on the meanings of the key concepts to those living during the revolutionary era and to people in present-day America.

COMPONENTS OF THE LIBERTY! THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION EDUCATION KIT

In addition to this TEACHER'S GUIDE FOR THE VIDEO SERIES, the following items are provided in the LIBERTY! Curriculum Package:

a. The GUIDE TO RESOURCES provides a description of a number of primary source statements and materials along with suggested student activities relative to the investigation of the American revolutionary era.

b. The RESOURCE PACKET provides a number of student materials that can be used with one or more of these videos or independently of them.

c. An extensive CHRONOLOGY of events of the Revolutionary era provides an extended list of over 100 events during this period. This chronology includes a large number of events that are typically ignored, forgotten and unstressed yet relevant to comprehending the activities, actions and reactions of individuals and groups during this period that affected what happened, when things happened and what consequences resulted from these activities and actions.

d. A TIMELINE of highlighted events of the revolutionary era includes a sample of key events during this era. These events are included in bold on the extensive CHRONOLOGY of events.

e. A SET OF GRAPHICS that contains reproductions and original materials reflecting the major events, concepts, positions, attitudes and conditions of this era to complement other resources, including teacher lectures, textbooks and library references.

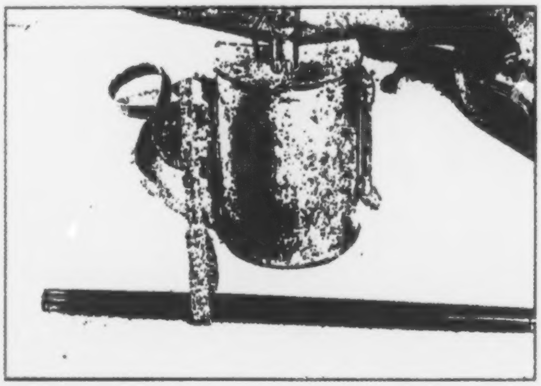
BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT FOR THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

What actually was the American Revolution? What was it that allowed some of the people then and nearly all of us now to refer to events of this era as the American Revolution? Was the war itself really the revolution? Did the war mark both the beginning and end of the American Revolution? Did the colonists win a rebellion? a civil war? a revolution? The answers to these questions are linked to the meanings of such terms as revolution, civil war, rebellion and the American Revolution. The challenge is deciding on which meanings in what era are most appropriate. For some, like John Adams, the revolution occurred before the first shot in Lexington, Massachusetts, April 19, 1775. This shot was fired fourteen months before the congress voted to sever all political ties with Britain. For others, the American Revolution is still going on.

What are acceptable answers to these questions? They depend on your interpretations and the meanings you assign to the events and selected conditions. Appropriate and defensible answers will also depend heavily on the concepts and perspectives that one selects. One uses perspectives, concepts and meanings to make sense of what happened and why a revolution happened when, where and as it did. Depending on the concepts and meanings used, one can construct a version of the American Revolution that approaches what the Revolution was to those who experienced it. One can also construct a version that differs considerably from the Revolution as perceived by those who lived through it.

There is still debate as to whether the beginning of the American Revolution can be traced back to events prior to 1763. In that year the British concluded the Seven Years War (the French and Indian War to the citizens in the thirteen North American colonies of Britain) as the most powerful nation in the Western world. Its army and navy were the world's best. Britain's North American colonies stretched from Canada in the North down to major islands in the Caribbean Sea. Its people were widely recognized as having more civil rights and freedoms than those in any other nation in the world. In 1763 the colonists were intensely loyal to England and to the king. Yet, in twelve years armed resistance broke out only in thirteen of Britain's colonies over such concepts as liberty, rights, authority and representation and the theoretical relationships between citizens and government within societies.

What factors contributed directly to the sudden, unexpected and severe changes in relationships between colonies and their homeland in just over one decade? In order to generate appropriate answers to this question, one must comprehend the conditions, traditions, expectations, perceptions and concepts that made up the complex and interrelated social, political, economic and religious environments of the time. Glimpses into samples of these environments are provided below.



A canteen and riding crop were common articles of equipment carried by officers in the colonial army.

As the French and Indian War ended, Parliament and its ministers tried to cope with the problems of empire. They needed to reorganize, modernize, streamline and make more consistent and more efficient the administration of their vast new empire. In order to pay for war debts as well as for defense of their present empire, they required money. They had to increase revenue through better enforcement of existing laws. They needed better enforcement of existing trade. They wanted the colonists who would benefit directly from the steps taken to defend the empire to pay at least part of the costs. And they wanted these changes to occur while preserving the rights and liberties of all British citizens. In fact, they were very concerned about preserving the civil rights of the colonists. What they had not anticipated was that since the founding of the first colony in Jamestown in 1607, 155 years before, there had been very little direct regulation, law enforcement or authority of Parliament in the internal affairs of the colonies.

Meanwhile, the colonists had gotten used to this situation. Most people in every colony did not see any reason why this very lax policy should change. From the colonists' view, to suddenly come in and start to collect taxes, to enforce laws and to regulate directly some of the internal affairs and many of their external activities were examples of arbitrary use of power. To people of this era, using power arbitrarily was tyranny. To people in the British Empire at this time, tyranny was linked automatically to the abolishment or limitation of their liberty and rights as citizens of Britain. One key issue then was whether or not Parliament's efforts to tax the colonies and enforce imperial tax and trade laws were examples of arbitrary use of power. For the leaders of the colonial resistance, there was only one interpretation for the actions of Parliament, its ministers and King George III: tyranny.

These artifacts from the Revolutionary War are a part of the collection housed at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.

Was King George III, for instance, a tyrant? Up to and during the American revolutionary period until his death, the vast majority of people in England did not view him as a tyrant. This perception was opposite that which the leaders of the colonial resistance had of this same king. This was the same king for all citizens of the empire. How could the same person be perceived so differently? The answer again is linked to the different perceptions people on both sides of the Atlantic had of authority, the source of authority and the proper use of government authority for ruling the internal affairs of the colonies. They came to hold many conflicting ideologies—ones that could not easily be reconciled.

The public statements and actions of many made it quite clear that there were two world views that had much in common. The differences between these world views crystallized in the reactions of the colonists to the Acts of Parliament beginning in 1763. These acts did not cause the American Revolution or even the Revolutionary War. Neither Parliament nor King George III caused the American Revolution. They merely were focal points around which the differences that existed in at least two world views became public. Once these views were made public and people were willing to act openly in alignment with their world view, then others had to deal with both their actions and their justifications for these actions.

There also were many not-so-public struggles and desires that contributed to the Revolution and the war. For instance, historian Carl Becker claims that shortly after the close of the French and Indian War, there was a simultaneous struggle concerning home rule (i.e., whether Britain or the colonies would have the highest authority to govern the colonies within the colonies themselves) and who would rule at home (i.e., what individuals and groups within each colony would control the government and economic policies in that colony). For him, the events and positions taken by people clearly show that these were continuous, deep rooted and serious concerns for many years even though no one at the time publicly announced either concern as he does. With General Cornwallis' surrender in October 1781 and Parliament's decision soon afterward to discontinue the effort to wage war against the colonies, the matter of home rule was decided. The American Revolutionary War cost Britain a large part of its empire and led to a new form of government in the new nation of the United States of America. Their victory in the war meant the colonies had earned the right to govern themselves. The other matter, who would rule at home, was partially decided by the Articles of Confederation and later by the U.S. Constitution enacted in 1789. It was also decided within each state and within each community. In many ways, the matter of who rules at home continues to affect Americans today.

Few people in the colonies from 1763 through 1783 could have avoided the discussions of politics; civil liberties; rights as English citizens; and loyalty to England, Parliament, law and order, and the king. Throughout the colonies people in every walk of life wondered what should be done to protect their natural rights from what they viewed was an increasingly oppressive, arbitrary, if not power-hungry, king and Parliament. Most individuals then as now knew that King George III and Parliament were not acting with the intent to make themselves more powerful. Indeed, the king and Parliament never intended to act in an oppressive or arbitrary manner. They never saw themselves as acting arbitrarily or oppressively—or, as the leaders of the colonial resistance claimed, tyrannically. However, these were not the perceptions their opponents had in the colonies. In this instance, as in all instances involving human beings, it is the perceptions rather than the intentions and actual actions that count for more. From 1763 onward, the king and Parliament continually struggled to comprehend and assess the merits of the reasons why the colonists held certain perceptions.

These are but a few of the factors that contributed to the 180-degree shift in the attitudes of enough colonists to motivate hundreds of thousands of them to risk their lives, property and sacred honor in an effort to be independent of King George III and his empire. These factors motivated an estimated thirty-five percent of the colonial population to put themselves in a situation where they had to invent a replacement government that preserved the rights of British citizens yet was independent of Britain itself.

The complexity of the issues and the position one held on an issue even affected the labels assigned to individuals by others then and now. Assigning appropriate labels to the Americans is in itself important. All those who lived in the thirteen colonies were by the 1760s called Americans. Those who remained aligned with Parliament, the king, royal officials and the British Constitution as these people viewed it are usually called Tories or Loyalists, even patriots. Those who actively opposed these same things were, at least until July 2, 1776, also very British. More appropriate labels for these colonists may be resisters or opposition colonists (labels frequently used in this TEACHER'S GUIDE FOR THE VIDEO SERIES and many of the student resources) rather than the traditional labels of rebels, revolutionaries or patriots. A rebel was defined then as a person who engaged in unlawful and unjustified actions against lawful authority. A revolutionary was a person who engaged in justified actions against unlawful authority. A patriot was a person who was committed to and vowed allegiance to a nation or the recognized government of that nation.

As these definitions suggest, the correct label hinges on which position one took then or takes now. For instance, colonists might side with Parliament and the king that they were the lawful authority. Hence, they would believe Parliament and the king were acting in ways consistent with the rights of English citizens and the British Constitution. In this case, these colonists would be patriots or Loyalists. From their perspective, colonists who opposed the lawful rule of Parliament or the king would be rebels, perhaps even traitors. Or, one could take the opposing colonists' view that Parliament and King George III were acting with unlawful authority because they violated the natural rights of man, the civil rights of all English citizens, the British Constitution and were in ways consistent with tyranny (i.e., arbitrary use of power and authority). In this case, the colonists who opposed the unlawful rule of Parliament or the king would be revolutionaries. The position on who or what constituted lawful authority could be used to determine the appropriate label for the opposition colonists.

Current day colonial army re-enactors recreate the Battle of Bunker Hill.

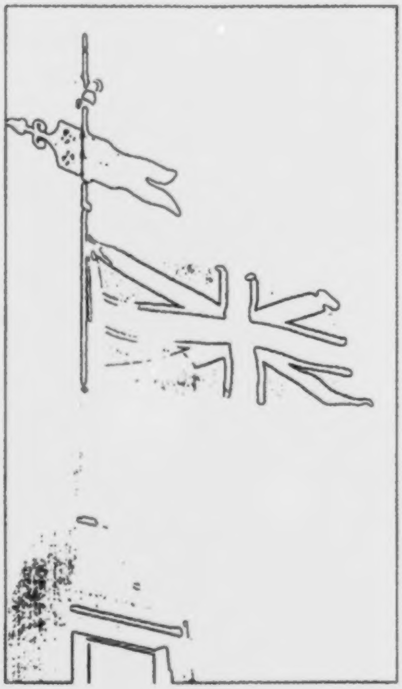
The resisters would become patriots to the United Colonies (n.b., not the United States) only after July 2, 1776, when the Continental Congress voted to sever political ties with Britain. One could also claim that the resisters to the Crown and Parliament were patriots to their cause from the moment their cause was first stated, to the British Constitution as they viewed it to be, or to the natural rights on which they based their reasons for protesting. All considered themselves patriots to their particular colony far earlier than they became patriots to a government or political state beyond their colony. Many resisters identified themselves as Americans rather than Britons who happened to live in the American colonies. In this sense, they were patriots to America and what America and being an American meant to them. However, casual reference to the resisters as patriots may lead some to perceive the Loyalists, the soldiers in the British army, members of Parliament and even King George III not as patriots. Surely this is an erroneous conclusion. Clearly the labels employed to refer to a person or group of this era must be selected and used with caution.

Was the American Revolution a democratic revolution? Perhaps this is true only in the sense that it affected everyone in the colonies at the time. Few people in the colonies and eventually in England could escape thinking about the concepts and ideas that were discussed. The protests and opposition to Crown authority and actions were not begun or continued for the express purpose of establishing an entirely new system of government in which everyone had an equal right to vote and participate. They were not undertaken to further a grand new political theory or promote a particular form of government. During the period up to and beyond the decision to declare independence, the leaders of the colonial opposition and most colonists were more certain of what they opposed than what they wanted in place of the present governmental system that made citizens of England the freest in the world.

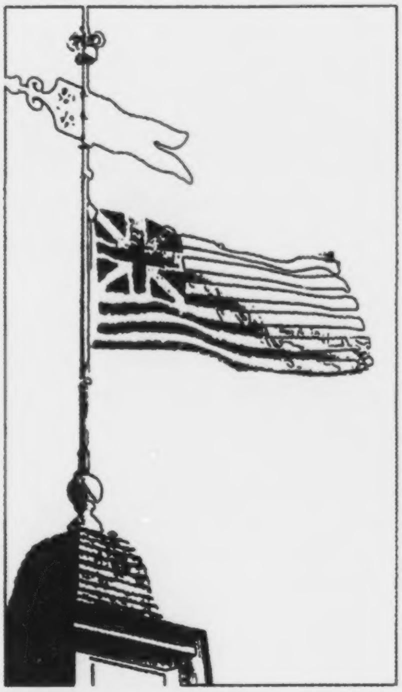
Most of these leaders appreciated the English political system's reliance on the upper class to rule on behalf of the entire population. Most leaders of the opposition to the Crown, of the social hierarchy in each colony and in the Continental Congress feared a democracy in which everyone participated. They wanted restraints on democracy. They wanted limitations on who could vote and for whom they could vote. They would not have fought the war to establish a broad-based democratic government without a number of restrictions and checks and balances to limit the influence of the majority of the people.

After the conflict in Lexington, the leaders in each state and community eventually had to deal with the problem of forming new governments. What each of these new governments would look like they did not know even then. They also had to consider the best form of government to guide any nation that might be formed by the union of two or more colonies. The Articles of Confederation was the second attempt at self-government involving more than one state; the Continental Congress was the first. The current U.S. Constitution was finally established as an acceptable government for a combination of the newly independent sovereign states.

Finally, nearly all of the major ideas and issues that aroused hundreds of thousands of colonists to action are still as important to us today. For instance, today, no less than in 1763, Americans complain about paying taxes, want less government in their daily lives, worry about their rights as citizens and as human beings and actively insist that their government protect their rights when they believe that they are in danger of being taken away or violated. In one sense, the American Revolution will never end. The most important struggles associated with the American revolutionary era concerned ideas and beliefs that men and women on both sides were willing to give up their lives to defend.



The Union Jack was the official flag of Britain and all of its American colonies. Photo: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation



During the Spring of 1776 a new flag began to appear in the colonies with 13 stripes, but still retaining the Union Jack. Photo: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT FOR THE AMERICA REVOLUTIONARY WAR

For some, the American Revolution was a war. This, however, was not the case for everyone. The leaders of the Revolution separated the revolution from the war. John Adams claimed that the Revolution had occurred before the first shot was fired in the war. The American Revolutionary War—or the War for Independence—was the second world war in human history. Battles were fought and men were killed, wounded or captured either on land or off the coast of five continents. The Seven Years War (better known to Americans as the French and Indian War [1754-1763]), fought by Britain against France and Spain, was the first world war.

However, as far as wars go, it was not much of a war. The units of the Continental army commanded by George Washington fought in nine battles and won only three of them. Major battles between two large armies or naval forces were extremely rare. The most common events were short-lived engagements, many being skirmishes, which involved less than 200 or 300 men on each side. On the high seas, short battles involving two or three ships were far more common than extended fighting between fleets. Less than 8,000 Americans who resisted the armed forces of the Crown and who were registered in a militia unit or the Continental army died on the battlefield. More than that died of disease and other non–battle-related causes. And even more than that also died as prisoners of war. The number of non-registered colonists who fought for and against the Crown is not known. The total number of men, women and children who died while fighting for the colonial cause will never be known. Nor will we ever know the number of civilians who died as victims of the war.

The conventional dates for this war are April 19, 1775, to October 17, 1781. The first date is associated with the military engagements at Lexington and Concord and along the route from Concord to Boston. Whether any of these events in Massachusetts were battles is still being debated. The date marking the end of the major military part of the war coincides with General Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown, Virginia. However, small-scale fighting occurred in several colonies for a period of months after Cornwallis' defeat. The signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783 is another date used to represent the end of this war.

One way to view the American Revolutionary War is that it started as a civil war between the colonists and the homeland. Once the colonies voted for independence from the British Empire in 1776, the conflict became a war of separation or a war to remain independent. One might even refer to the events as a war of secession from the empire (from the perspective of the opposition colonists) and a war to preserve the empire (from Parliament's perspective).

Within weeks of hearing the news of Cornwallis' surrender, Parliament decided to end its military campaign against the American colonies. This would free up both the army and navy to concentrate on preserving other parts of the empire.

The armed struggles between loyalists to and opponents of British rule within each colony were parts of a civil war in each colony. These within-colony civil wars included widespread terrorist acts, massacres, brutality and destruction of property by both sides. The extent of the brutality and violence by the members of both sides in these civil wars shocked even the soldiers of the Crown.

THE VIDEOS: AN OVERVIEW

LIBERTY! includes information concerning the period from 1763 to the ratification of the Constitution in 1788. Six one-hour videos collectively form the Public Television-produced series LIBERTY! Each video combines visits to key places, live-action re-enactments, graphics, primary documents and quotations from people who experienced first-hand the issues and events of the revolutionary era and from modern day historians. Available in bookstores is a companion book, published by Viking Press, 1997, by the same title which complements this video series and contains much that could not be included in six hours of video.

The narrative tells only one of countless stories that could be told of this era and the issues that served to promote and maintain many of the events of this twenty-five-year period. In many ways the video represents a six-hour snapshot that, like all snapshots, exposes only part of what is there to capture, consider and reconstruct. At the same time, snapshots cannot convey all the contexts, thoughts and feelings of all the people involved in or affected by what the picture contains. This TEACHER'S GUIDE FOR THE VIDEO SERIES, the GUIDE TO RESOURCES and accompanying student resources are designed to provide the context and guidance to assist teachers and students alike in constructing accurate, far-reaching and meaningful multiperspective versions of what both the American Revolution and the American Revolutionary War were like and what each meant to those involved in and affected by them.

Each video reveals many important ideas, emotions, personalities and events of this period. And each includes statements that capture feelings, a particular perspective or attitude, a singular moment or a particular person so that your experience comes closer to that of the witness. These points of view are disclosed in part in the form of letters, diaries and stories by members of Parliament, King George III, colonial leaders, government officials, family members, friends and observers of the events and conditions. All of these individuals were not writing history because they were too busy making history. In nearly every instance, these sources come closer to revealing the nature and affects of the political, economic, social and personal issues and concerns about how the colonists should be governed and how they came to establish a new nation than remarks by only politicians. The student activities contain selected statements that should be considered carefully and reflectively in the context of the particular video, the particular person or persons involved and the entire spirit and experience of the American Revolution.

Pulling Down Statue of King George III by William Walcott, circa 1854. Private Collection

Each chapter portrays a single event or a particular perspective, situation or condition linked to the themes of that video. Each can be viewed apart from the other chapters in the same video should you desire to do so.

A SPECIAL NOTE

Each video includes a narrative that concerns important ideas, events and issues aligned with the focus of that video. The videos that accompany this set of curriculum materials have been specially modified for classroom use with both chapter breaks and the exclusive PBS VIDEO*index*™ clock. Within each video there are subdivisions, or chapters, with separate titles that serve to break the narrative into short, very focused subparts. For the convenience of the teacher, each video was subdivided into as many as eleven chapters, each with its own title. These chapters were created for the purpose of helping teachers organize the content of each sixty-minute video into manageable subdivisions that focus on

particular ideas or events that might be addressed separately as part of the entire story or a unit of instruction. The chapter titles appear on the video screen. In the Teacher Module that accompanies each video, the story in the video is divided into chapters. The chapter titles and description of the content of each chapter are included in the Teacher Module along with the beginning and end times of each chapter. These times can easily be located on these specially prepared videotapes by using the PBS VIDEO*index* (The clock is in the bottom right-hand corner of the screen.)

STUDENT LEARNING EXPECTATIONS FOR THE ENTIRE SERIES

At the end of their study of the American revolutionary era from 1763 to the ratification of the Constitution in 1788 using this video series, students should be able to:

- state the reasons why, during the period from 1763 to at least 1776, so many of the colonists considered themselves to be British, were proud to be British and continually expressed loyalty and allegiance to Britain, the Crown and the British Constitution.

- comprehend the positions, decisions and actions of the officials of the Crown and Parliament before and during the American revolutionary era within the context of trying to manage, protect and regulate the colonies within a vast empire.

- describe the social class system that existed in England (and other European nations) at this time, and the attitudes of those in British high society toward the colonists, including colonists like George Washington, Benjamin Franklin and John Hancock, who had become wealthy in the colonies.

- define the key concepts of this era, including liberty, freedom, power, sovereignty, representative government, rights, rebellion and revolution that gave rise to the issues that dominated political, economic and social conversations of this era and apply these concepts to interpret events during this period as the people then would have interpreted them.

- state reasons why, beginning in 1765, the colonists made liberty a key issue in their concerns about the actions of Parliament and King George III toward the colonies.

- describe the major issues and ideas that reflected and heightened the colonists' opposition to the actions of Parliament and the Crown.

- state the major ideas and strategies of military operations of this era and particular decisions and actions by individuals on both sides of this conflict that followed or ran counter to these ideas and strategies.

- describe the problems that General Washington and the Continental Congress had in assembling, improving and retaining an army and navy as well as in conducting a war effort against the highly trained army and navy of the Crown.

- describe the strategies and actions of the various Crown officers, armies and Tory supporters in the effort to first prevent hostilities and later to put down the opposition and defeat the colonial forces they faced on land and sea.

- comprehend the concepts of rebellion and revolution as people of this era would have defined them and state the reasons why the colonists may and may not have justified their actions as being rebellious or revolutionary.

- comprehend the significance of the decision to seek and then declare independence in the summer of 1776 and the multiple meanings this decision had for various individuals and groups at the time.

- state multiple ways, both during and after the war, that the war affected those in uniform and those who remained civilians.

- describe the ways the personalities, biases, beliefs and emotional dispositions of the leaders on both sides affected the pre-war actions of Parliament and the royal officials.

- describe the ways the personalities, biases, beliefs and emotional dispositions of the leaders on both sides affected their war activities and their attitudes toward their opponents.
- comprehend the extent to which the events associated with the constitutional issues affected people in different social classes, occupations and geographical regions, including but not limited to women, free blacks and slaves and enlistees on both sides.
- state the reasons for and against each action of the colonial opposition during the pre-war period from the view of their being opponents to the actions of the Crown government and officials and of being a loyal citizen of the British Empire.
- describe the specific events prior to July 2, 1776, that moved the colonies from being members of the British empire to severing all political ties to Britain.
- describe the specific events after July 2, 1776, that moved the colonies from independence from Britain to the 1789 installation of the new government under the present Constitution and state the reasons why each of these events played a major part in establishing the new government.
- describe the ideas and structure of the Declaration of Independence and state the reasons why each idea and/or part of the structure were important to the colonists at that time.
- describe the immediate and long-term effects of this war for each combatant nation and selected subgroups within each nation.
- describe issues and situations in America today and trace their possible origins to the issues and ideas that dominated the thoughts and actions of the colonists.
- state specific ways that postwar events and conditions were consistent and inconsistent with the ideas the colonists supported during their earlier resistance to the actions of Parliament and King George III.
- describe the equivalences, differences and similarities between the Constitution, government and civil rights under British rule, the Articles of Confederation and the U.S. Constitution.
- state the attitudes and beliefs of the Founding Fathers that lead them to construct the new government in the way that they did.
- state the strengths and weaknesses of the government under the Articles of Confederation and the U.S. Constitution of 1787.
- state the major concepts and ideas that served as the basis for constructing the government and rights under the U.S. Constitution of 1787.
- apply such concepts as liberty, freedom, authority, social contract and loyalty as these were used during the revolutionary era to explain events and decisions before and during the war for independence.
- apply such concepts as liberty, freedom, authority, social contract and loyalty as these were used during the revolutionary era to determine the extent to which the governments under the articles or the U.S. Constitution of 1787 were aligned with the colonists' meanings of these concepts.
- define and then apply such concepts as liberty, freedom, authority, social contract and loyalty as these are defined today and compare these meaning with those held by each side during the revolutionary era.

GUIDES FOR PLANNING, INSTRUCTION AND ASSESSMENT: COMPONENTS OF EACH MODULE

The six instructional modules in this TEACHER'S GUIDE FOR THE VIDEO SERIES contain the following elements:

- one or more **Unifying Concepts and Themes.**
- a list of **Key Vocabulary** terms that should be reviewed and defined by students before the video. A glossary is provided in the GUIDE TO RESOURCES.
- a set of **Student Learning Expectations** or objectives that specify key abilities students are expected to attain during and retain long after the completion of a particular module.
- a **Synopsis** of the context and emphasis of the video, including a brief summary of each chapter.
- a description of **Suggested Enrichment Activities.** (Additional activities are described in the Guide to Resources and the student resources aligned with it.)
- a set of **Additional Questions.** These supplement those included in Student Resource A included with each module. They may be used before, during or after the video to check student comprehension and understanding.
- a brief description of each **Student Resource** for the particular video. These student resources are included in this TEACHER'S GUIDE at the end of the module for each video. These resources focus students' attention on details aligned with the expected student learning outcomes for this episode. They also extend students' inquiry either deeper into a topic or issue, or on to related topics. Additional resources are included in the RESOURCE PACKET.
- a **SET OF GRAPHICS' Titles List** detailing the title and type of illustration.
- a **Reference List** with extensive primary and secondary resources as well as contact sites for tours.

TABLE OF RESOURCES IN THE RESOURCE PACKET

Table 1, beginning on page 14, includes a list of the names of all the reproducible materials included in the RESOURCE PACKET. The table suggests the one or more videos where each particular resource might be useful to the themes, concepts or content of the video. Teachers are encouraged to read more about the resources in the GUIDE TO RESOURCES and to go to the RESOURCE PACKET and examine the resource firsthand. Each resource has a series of questions that students might answer. The GUIDE TO RESOURCES also lists a number of suggested activities as ways students might use the resource in the classroom.

Portrait of George Washington, by Charles Wilson Peale, 1772
Washington and Lee University

21

TABLE OF RESOURCES IN THE RESOURCE PACKET

This table lists the number and name of all the resources in the RESOURCE PACKET along with an indicator of the one or more videos in the LIBERTY! video series which supplement them.

		VIDEO EPISODE					
NO.	TITLE OF RESOURCE	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Quotations of Note	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.	The Question and Problems of Empire: What Should Be Done to Manage, Defend and Govern the Empire? (1750-1763)	✓	✓				
3.	The British Constitution: Two Very Different Points of View	✓	✓				✓
4.	Rebellion or Revolution?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
5.	Revolution: An Alternative Perspective	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
6.	What Is Liberty?	✓	✓				✓
7.	The Colonists as Citizens of the British Empire	✓	✓	✓			
8.	Separating the War from the Revolution: An Introduction	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
9.	Announcement in a Colonial Newspaper by a Concerned Father (July 31, 1746)	✓					
10.	Act for the Settling and Better Regulations of the Militia in Virginia (May 1723)	✓	✓				
11.	The Mercantilist World View: Background and Overview	✓	✓				
12.	The Mercantilist World View: Basic Assumptions of This Economic Theory	✓	✓				
13.	Excerpts from a Speech Given by Virginia's Governor Dinwiddie (April 24, 1752)	✓	✓	✓			
14.	The Royal Proclamation on North America by King George III (October 7, 1763)	✓					
15.	A Declaration and Remonstrance from the Inhabitants of the Pennsylvania Frontier (February 13, 1764)	✓					
16.	The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved by James Otis (1764)	✓	✓				✓
17.	Acts of Parliament	✓	✓				
18.	The Virginia Stamp Act Resolves Introduced in the House of Burgesses by Patrick Henry (Adopted on May 30, 1765)	✓	✓				
19.	Poem in Opposition to the Stamp Act by Benjamin Franklin (1765)	✓					
20.	The Birth of the Sons of Liberty	✓	✓	✓			
21.	Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress (October 19, 1765)	✓	✓				
22.	The Objections to the Taxation of Our American Colonies by the Legislature of Great Britain Briefly Consider'd by Soame Jenyns, London (1765)	✓	✓				

No.	Title of Resource	Video Episode					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
23.	Tar'd and Feather'd	✓	✓	✓			
24.	"The Liberty Song"	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
25.	Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies for the Purpose of Raising a Revenue by Act of Parliament by Daniel Dulany (October 1765)	✓	✓				
26.	Letter to Lord Barrington from Sir Francis Bernard, Royal Governor of Massachusetts (November 23, 1765)	✓	✓				
27.	Speech before the House of Commons by George Grenville (January 14, 1766)	✓	✓				
28.	Speech on American Taxation Before the House of Lords by Lord Camden (February 24, 1766)	✓	✓				
29.	Eyewitness Accounts of the Boston Massacre (1770)	✓	✓				
30.	A Poem Written Seven Months after the Boston Massacre (Author Unknown) (October 1770)	✓	✓				
31.	Speech to the Massachusetts Assembly by Thomas Hutchinson, Royal Governor of Massachusetts (January 6, 1773)	✓	✓				
32.	The Tea Never Should Be Landed Broadside, Boston (December 2, 1773)	✓	✓				
33.	Eyewitness Accounts of the Boston Tea Party (December 1773)	✓	✓				
34.	"Rally, Mohawks!" (Author Unknown)	✓	✓				
35.	A Public Execution by the Sons of Liberty	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
36.	Excerpts from the Quebec Act (June 22, 1774)		✓				
37.	Considerations on the Authority of Parliament by James Wilson (August 1774)	✓	✓				✓
38.	A Song in Support of American Opposition to the Crown (1774)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
39.	In Memory of William French by Lord Camden (February 24, 1766)		✓	✓			
40.	The "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death" Speech by Patrick Henry (March 23, 1775)	✓	✓	✓			✓
41.	Orders by General Thomas Gage to Lieutenant Colonel Smith to Seize and Destroy the Munitions at Concord (April 18, 1775)		✓				
42.	What Happened on the Evening of April 18 and Early Morning of April 19, 1775? by Paul Revere		✓	✓			
43.	An Eyewitness to the Events in Lexington by Eliza (April 19, 1841)		✓				
44.	Abigail Adams Expresses Her Support for the Blacks (September 1774)		✓	✓			✓
45.	Petition from a "Grate Number of Blackes" to the Royal Governor and General of the Army Thomas Gage, Boston (May 25, 1775)		✓				
46.	Proclamation to the Citizens of Boston to Turn in Their Firearms Issued by General Thomas Gage (June 19, 1775)		✓				

		VIDEO EPISODE					
NO.	**TITLE OF RESOURCE**	1	2	3	4	5	6
47.	A Refugee Song (Author Unknown)		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
48.	The Liberty Tree Is Cut Down Broadside: Boston (December 2, 1773)		✓	✓			
49.	"Liberty Tree" by Atlanticus (July 1775)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
50.	Words of the Loyalists (Author Unknown)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
51.	Proclamation by the King for Suppressing Rebellion and Sedition (August 23, 1775)		✓	✓			
52.	Excerpts from a Letter from King George III to His Prime Minister, Lord North (1775)		✓	✓			
53.	The Manner and Tactics of European Armies in the Late 1700s		✓	✓	✓	✓	
54.	Factors That Handicapped the Crown's Ability to Wage Effective War		✓	✓	✓	✓	
55.	Social Contract Theory	✓	✓	✓			✓
56.	Virginia Governor Dunmore's Proclamation (November 7, 1775)		✓	✓			
57.	Letter Reacting to Governor Dunmore's Proclamation (November 1775)		✓	✓			
58.	Virginia's Resolution for Independence (May 15, 1776)		✓	✓			
59.	Letter to James Sullivan from John Adams (May 26, 1776)		✓	✓			
60.	Introduction of the Resolution for the Colonies to Severe All Allegiance to the British Crown (June 7, 1776)		✓	✓			
61.	The Virginia Declaration of Rights Approved Unanimously by the Virginia Legislature (June 12, 1776)		✓	✓			✓
62.	The Declaration of Independence: An Introduction and an Analysis of Its Structures		✓	✓			✓
63.	Eyewitness Accounts from the Battlefields			✓	✓	✓	
64.	Blacks during the Revolutionary Era			✓	✓	✓	✓
65.	Letter from Paul Revere in Defense of the Colonies Remaining Independent from Britain (July 1782)		✓	✓	✓	✓	
66.	The Marquis de Lafayette Reacts to the Continuation of Slavery in America after the War					✓	✓
67.	Circular Letter to the State Governors by George Washington (June 8,1783)					✓	✓
68.	Casualty and Death Table					✓	✓
69.	Is the American Revolution Over?					✓	✓

SET OF GRAPHICS' TITLES LIST

1. A Law of Macaroni (print)
2. Keep within [the] Compass and You Shall be Sure to Avoid Many Troubles Which Others Endure (print)
3. The Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770 (chromolithograph)
4. The Blood Massacre Perpetuated in King Street Boston on March 5, 1770, by a Party of the 29th Regiment (lithograph)
5. The Colonies Reduced (drawing)
6. The Alternative of Williamsburg (cartoon drawing)
7. A Society of Patriotic Ladies at Edenton in North Carolina (satiric drawing)
8. The Bostonians Paying the Excise-Man, or Tarring and Feathering (lithograph)
9. The Destruction of Tea at Boston Harbor, December 16, 1773 (lithograph)
10. A Bloody Butchery by the British Troops: Or, the Runaway Fight of the Regulars (broadside)
11. The Bostonians in Distress (drawing)
12. The Battle of Bunker Hill, June 16, 1775 (engraving from a painting)
13. A Typical Recruiting Notice Seeking Volunteers for the Continental Army (poster)
14. U.S.S. *Turtle* in its Unsuccessful Attempt to Attach a Torpedo to the Bottom of H.M.S. *Eagle*, Admiral Richard Howe's Flagship Anchored off Governor's Island, New York. September 7, 1776 (painting)
15. Bushnell's Submarine Torpedo Boat, 1776 (drawing)
16. Benjamin Franklin at the Court of France (painting)
17. Poor Old England Endeavoring to Reclaim His Wicked American Children (cartoon)
18. Baron von Steuben at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, Winter of 1777-78 (painting)
19. Britannia to America (rebus) (Answers are on the back.)
20. America to Her Mistaken Mother (rebus) (Answers are on the back.)
21. Colonel George Rogers Clark's March against Vincennes, across the Wabash River, through Wilderness and Flood, February 1779 (painting)
22. John Paul Jones Bidding Goodbye to His Victorious Ship, the Bonhomme Richard (painting)
23. Battle off the Virginia Capes, September 5, 1783 (painting)
24. General George Washington Firing the First Gun at the Siege of Yorktown, October 9, 1781 (painting)
25. The American Rattle Snake (cartoon/etching)

MODULE I:
THE RELUCTANT REVOLUTIONARIES

UNIFYING CONCEPTS AND THEMES

Liberty, freedom, rights, representation, empire, colony, rebellion, protest, resistance, revolution, citizen, natural rights, authority

KEY VOCABULARY

Act of Parliament, boycott, oppose, duties, tariffs, taxes, taxation, commoner, sovereign, sovereignty, natural law, rabble, anarchy, unite, challenge, social class, social status, cockpit

STUDENT LEARNING EXPECTATIONS

Module I encompasses the conditions, concepts, perceptions, issues and moods of the period from 1763 to December 1773. Stressed are examples of the individual and collective efforts to cope with these issues. At the end of this lesson, students should be able to:

- describe key elements of the ambitions of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and George Washington before the Stamp Act.
- describe the attitudes that the British high society and Parliament likely held toward men like John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and George Washington as well as other colonists merely because they lived in the colonies.
- describe the different views that Benjamin Franklin held about being English and being an American, and what he did that led to his need to leave England to return to America.
- state Parliament's purposes for passing the Stamp Act and the Declaratory Act.
- describe specific colonial reactions to the Stamp Act and the Declaratory Act, and state all of the specific reasons why the colonists who challenged and accepted these acts justified their reactions.
- state the reasons why the colonists were especially upset with the provisions of the Declaratory Act.
- state the concerns of Thomas Hutchinson about what was going on in the colonies and specific actions of the protesting colonists that were evidence to support his assessment of the situation.
- state the reasons why the leaders of the opposition deliberately tried to expand the membership of their opposition to include people from all levels of colonial society.
- describe the attitudes of the leaders of government and society in England toward the colonists who involved commoners in the political affairs of the colonies.
- define boycott and provide purposes of the boycott the colonists used in response to the Stamp Act.
- describe the details surrounding the Boston Tea Party and the reasons why this event fit in with the perceptions of the Parliament to exercise some authority over the colonies and the perceptions of the opposition colonists that Parliament was again acting in a tyrannical way.
- state the tradition in British society of using soldiers as policemen, and the reasons why soldiers were in Boston in December 1770.
- describe the events that surrounded Benjamin Franklin's efforts to bring peace between the two sides by disclosing the letters of Thomas Hutchinson, royal governor of Massachusetts.
- describe the events leading up to the dumping of the tea in Boston harbor, and the reasons why the colonists believed they were justified in dumping it.
- describe the views that Benjamin Franklin held toward Britain before 1765 and from 1773 to 1774 and state at least three reasons why his views changed.
- state the immediate consequences of dumping the tea for the colony of Massachusetts.

SYNOPSIS: THE RELUCTANT REVOLUTIONARIES

For a synopsis of the program, see Student Resource 1-B. You may wish to provide students with these sheets after viewing the video.

SYNOPSIS OF EACH CHAPTER

Chapter 1: They Were Proud to Be British

(02:52-06:38)

Chapter length: 3 minutes and 46 seconds

Picture the world in late 1763 as a person in England would likely have viewed it. The king of England was now the head of the largest, most powerful empire in the world. England had defeated its traditional enemy France in a conflict that spanned the globe. The British colonists saw this as a victory for their way of life: English liberty conquered French tyranny. In North America, the French were driven from Canada and much of the West in a conflict known as the French and Indian War. The colonists revered their king and admired everything English. Wealthy Virginian planters sent their children to England to be educated. New Yorkers read British books and newspapers. At the same time, British subjects had more freedoms and liberty than any people in the entire world. There was a sense that conditions could only improve in the colonies. The colonists looked forward to increasing prosperity.

Meanwhile, after 1763, the British Parliament decided it must come to grips with organizing, managing and defending a world empire. Parliament's efforts to deal with the problems of empire generated reactions in the colonies of North America that in just over ten years would lead to military conflict on the commons of Lexington, Massachusetts.

Chapter 2: British Society Set the Standards

(06:40-15:06)

Chapter length: 8 minutes and 26 seconds

In 1763, the Seven Years War, better known as the French and Indian War to Americans, ended with the French removed as a threat to the security of the English colonies in America. This chapter reveals many of the attitudes that shaped the traditional social life, one which often restrained individuals both in Britain and in the colonies. It was quite clear that no matter what a colonist might do or earn, he and his family would never be accepted in the upper levels of the society that lived in England.

Yet, in this environment, many colonists were ambitious and saw new opportunities for themselves. They saw potential personal gain by investing in the new territories to the west and by expanding their businesses through overseas trade. At the same time, they desired to be viewed as members of the social elite of the empire. This chapter concerns the ideas and aristocratic ambitions of three such colonists—John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and George Washington.

Franklin sought a position in the British cabinet and wanted to be accepted within the inner circles of British society and government. But wealth was not equated with power, status or position in the aristocracy. In Great Britain, real power was solidly in the hands of the aristocracy, a group of men whose power was inherited and who owed their position not to merit and ability but to their lineage. The lords and ladies had nothing but contempt for this upstart inventor from the colonies. The tenth son of a candlemaker, Franklin was of very humble origin. Although he had discovered the cause of lightning and been a darling of the Enlightenment, to the nobility he would always be a commoner. So it was with all who came from the colonies.

Most of the emphasis in this section of the video is on the attitudes that the British held toward all colonials, even men like Washington, who owned far more land than nearly anyone in Britain. The snobbery of the British in England and the desire of colonials to be accepted caused friction, envy and frustration. A sense of inferiority seemed to extend throughout the minds of many prominent colonists. These same colonists aspired to be accepted by English society for their accomplishments and their talents. They also realized that while England wanted the business and prosperity the colonies brought, English high society was not about to welcome any colonist as one of its own.

Chapter 3: The Stamp Act

(15:08-29:50)

Chapter length: 14 minutes and 42 seconds

In the spring of 1765, Parliament made a decision that seemed to be a very small shift in the government's colonial policy. The costly war with France left the British treasury seriously depleted. In addition, in reacting to Pontiac's Uprising during 1763 and the likelihood of other uprisings in the future, Parliament decided that, at least for a while, several thousand regular troops would be based in the colonies, ready to move quickly to any danger spots. The colonists had asked for assistance, and Parliament responded to their request. But someone had to pay for the expense of these troops in the colonies. Surely, Parliament believed, the colonists could pay some of these expenses. To help pay off the war debt and for the troops stationed in the colonies, Parliament announced that, for the first time, the American colonists would pay a small tax, not to their local legislatures, but directly to England. It was called the stamp tax because everything on paper, from legal documents to playing cards, needed a stamp paid for by the user. The tax was to be collected inside the colonies by royal officials rather than by officials from the colonial legislatures. Test pressings of the stamp were made, and the new tax was set to go into effect in the fall of 1765. It took six weeks for news of the signing of the Stamp Tax Act to cross the ocean.

The reaction to the Stamp Act was unexpectedly hostile, instantaneous and widespread. The act and what it represented created a firestorm in every part of the colonies. For the colonial elite, the men who ran the local legislatures, the Stamp Act was an outrage. This act by Parliament seemed to confirm their worst suspicions: that they were not respected in England, not worth even being consulted about this change in policy. George Washington, a delegate sitting in the Virginia legislature, declared, "Parliament has no right to put its hands into our pockets without our consent." Even royal appointees, such as the highly regarded Thomas Hutchinson, chief justice of Massachusetts, were upset. Many leaders of the colonial legislatures claimed that the issue was not the amount of the tax, but the right of Parliament to levy a direct—or internal—tax on colonial activity without the colonists being represented. More specifically, they claimed Parliament did not have the right to levy an internal tax within each colony without the permission of its legislature. The colonial legislators did not widely disclose that their representatives in London had been asked for months to provide input into the Stamp Act as well as to suggest alternative ways of collecting revenues. These representatives made almost no response to either request. Because of the opportunities given to the representatives, members of Parliament believed that the colonies had been represented on the matter of the Stamp Act.

Discussions on the Stamp Act and its intentions were carried out on both sides of the Atlantic. The colonists had some supporters in Parliament, but these men could not persuade the ministers and king to repeal the law. Meanwhile, colonial opponents of the Stamp Act and the royal government's efforts to enforce it shifted from one reason to another to justify their resistance. "Taxation without representation" lead to "no internal taxes," to "no taxation without consent," to fears of enslavement and loss of liberty and rights of English citizens. Colonial petitions sent to Parliament did no good.

Eventually, individuals within the colonies supported one another's acts of protest and refusal to pay the tax. For the first time, leaders in the different colonies banned together. They formed a quasi-official body known as the Stamp Act Congress that included representatives from several colonies. Within a year the colonists succeeded in presenting a united front against the distribution of the stamps.

Although Parliament withdrew the Stamp Act, neither side really backed down from its original position. The pressure to withdraw the tax resulted in its repeal in February 1766. The system of cooperative resistance had worked. However, many leaders of Parliament believed that repealing the law was a sign of weakness and was a dangerous precedent.

Chapter 4: The Declaratory Act
(29:51-37:00)

Chapter length: 7 minutes and 9 seconds

On the same day the Stamp Act was repealed, Parliament passed the Declaratory Act, asserting the absolute right of the British Parliament to make laws for the American colonies in all cases whatsoever. A year later Parliament put teeth in the act with a new set of taxes on the colonies, this time in the form of stiff duties on manufactured goods from England, everything from paint to window panes to tea. These tax laws and accompanying enforcement actions were known as the Townshend Acts. These duties represented external taxes—a form of taxation that the colonists had indicated earlier was acceptable.

More and more colonists came to believe that something fundamental had changed in their relationship with the homeland. They saw in Parliament's actions parallels to what occurred earlier in the century to subjugate Ireland. They feared this was the first step in the same direction. Many decided to take action. They knew they had the power to hurt England financially. They decided to boycott British goods. For the American colonies that did not even make their own nails, this meant real hardship. Ordinary people had to be convinced not to buy British goods, and merchants had to be convinced not to import British goods. Spontaneous protest needed to be transformed into a political movement.

For the boycott to work, a large portion of the entire population had to be mobilized. But until that time, the leaders of the opposition had not involved the common people in the workings of government or in shaping major political decisions. In fact, until now, the leaders of colonial society and government believed strongly that ordinary people, especially the poor and non-property owners, had no capacity for political thought. To the leaders, gentlemen led, and ordinary people—commoners—knew their place as followers. In the eighteenth century men, women and children of every race, class and region strongly believed that hierarchy was the norm in nature and in society. They believed that some people were naturally better than other people. If one was wealthy, one was superior. That was how the world operated. Inviting ordinary people to participate in organized political action was a very needed yet very radical step. For many of the colonial elite, this involvement threatened the entire social order—the very stability of society. Shops once full of British goods began to empty as the boycott grew. The very idea that the American social and political leaders were involving large numbers of commoners and women in politics was a comic subject for London cartoonists. But the merchants and manufacturers in England were not amused. Their factories, ships and bank accounts were greatly affected by the boycott.

The boycott took hold. Imports into the thirteen colonies dropped by nearly thirty percent. A number of merchants and manufacturers in England went bankrupt. Clearly Parliament's attempts to tax the colonies were not working. With extreme reluctance, Parliament agreed to withdraw all taxes and duties except for a symbolic one on tea. However, more strongly than ever, Parliament and the Crown continued to assert the principle that the colonies must obey Parliament and the laws of the empire.

Parliament and King George III were upset and frustrated. They blamed a few ringleaders for all the troubles. They paid particular attention to a Boston radical, rabble-rouser and propagandist who advocated widespread popular protest—Samuel Adams.

Chapter 5: The Regulars Arrive to Police Boston (37:01-43:31)

Chapter length: 6 minutes and 30 seconds

In 1767, Chief Justice Thomas Hutchinson, who later would become royal governor of Massachusetts, was concerned about the lawlessness, destruction of property, violence against people and what appeared to be anarchy. He was afraid of mob rule. He pleaded for Parliament to do something.

Meanwhile, the British government thought that it was a relatively small group of leaders in Massachusetts who were inflaming opinion and supporting the riots. The ministers were aware that there was a lot of agitation on the streets. Within the eighteenth-century worldview of western Europe and their colonies, the assumption was that if a lot of people were discontented, then it had to be because a small group of the elite class was misleading the wider public. In this case, this assumption was a mistake. Parliament and the aristocracy failed to believe that there was a mass movement against them. Going much farther than anything Hutchinson had in mind, the Parliament sent a detachment of troops to Boston to serve as policemen to restore order and arrest the ringleaders. In this era, Britain used regulars to serve as policemen. For Parliament, sending the troops for this reason made sense and was quite in keeping with tradition. But the arrival of the regulars further infuriated the colonists who opposed the actions of Parliament.

Months later, on March 5, 1770, angry citizens harassed British soldiers, throwing objects at them and threatening them with physical harm. The soldiers fired in self-defense. Five Bostonians were killed. Paul Revere produced a very inaccurate illustration of the event. In his graphic version, a formation of soldiers fired, without provocation, on innocent civilians. The incident became known as the Boston Massacre. It strengthened as well as expanded the protests and resistance throughout the colonies.

Meanwhile, Benjamin Franklin saw that this war of words could easily slip into open conflict. He looked for a way to calm passions on both sides. Franklin knew that important leaders in the British government relied on advice from Thomas Hutchinson, whom they had recently appointed royal governor of Massachusetts. Franklin read Hutchinson's letters that insisted Parliament take a tough stand against the leaders of the resistance in Massachusetts. Franklin believed that the Ministers of Parliament were being disastrously misled by Hutchinson's observations and advice. Franklin was convinced that if these letters were to become public in Massachusetts, the leaders of the resistance would shift the blame for the events of the past decade away from Parliament and lay it at the feet of Hutchinson himself. He wrote, "Let's make him [Hutchinson], like the scape-goats of old, carry into the wilderness all the bad feelings that he's stirred up between our two countries." Franklin sent Hutchinson's letters to Bostonians whom he knew would publish them. The publication of the letters created a major protest against Hutchinson, and the Massachusetts legislature petitioned King George to remove Hutchinson.

Meanwhile, King George III, who had basically stayed away from the troubles and controversy, decided to take an active part in government. George insisted that these troubles be ended. He applauded the increased efforts to stop the protests, riots and the boycott. He wanted action taken immediately to force the protesters into submission.

Chapter 6: The Tea Party
(43:33-47:00)
Chapter length: 3 minutes and 27 seconds

In the fall of 1773, Parliament decided on a way of taxing the colonies that it believed the colonists would actually welcome. The East India Company had a surplus of tea. Parliament decided to ship half a million pounds of this tea to America at an extremely low price with a nominal tax of three pennies per pound. This tax was much lower than the citizens of England had to pay for tea. The colonists, Parliament reasoned, could not possibly object to paying less for their tea than the people in England. The reaction by the colonists again was quite unexpected. In every colony where the tea landed, there were loud protests and the royal governors either send the tea back or store it unsold in warehouses.

In Massachusetts, the story was different. On November 27, 1773, three ships loaded with East India tea arrived in Boston harbor. By law, the tea tax had to be paid within three weeks. The decision over what to do next was squarely in the hands of royal governor Thomas Hutchinson. He was torn with conflict. Hutchinson could have decided that he could not enforce the law and that it was beyond his control. He could have notified his superiors in England, but he chose not to do so. On the night of December 16, Bostonians dressed up as Mohawk Indians dumped 342 chests of tea into the harbor. No other property on the ships was damaged and no one was harmed.

Chapter 7: The Cockpit
(47:01-51:41)
Chapter length: 4 minutes and 40 seconds

The anger in Parliament and throughout English society was widespread and intense. The dumping of the tea in the very center of trade in the northern colonies was seen as a public act of defiance against the law, the British Constitution, Parliament and the king. The destruction of the tea was an act that could not be ignored. The ministers knew they had to act, and act firmly. They decided to deal with the Bostonians' open defiance of the law and to remind everyone of the authority of Parliament and the king over the colonies. They did not act to collect money for the lost tea.

Meanwhile, Benjamin Franklin was at the center of a storm of controversy. He admitted that it was he who had leaked Hutchinson's letters to the Boston radicals. In the midst of the reaction to the tea party, a petition from the Massachusetts legislature for the removal of Hutchinson as governor arrived before Parliament. In the cockpit, Franklin had to answer questions from members of the House of Lords. The accusations against Franklin were very personal and very degrading. They referred to Franklin as someone other than a gentleman, for who else would open other people's mail, steal other people's letters and so on? Franklin is said to have walked out of the cockpit and turned to Wedderburn and said, "I'll make your king a little man for this." Franklin knew then that he had to leave England. Franklin evolved very slowly into a revolutionary. He loved England profoundly, but this affection eventually devolved into bitter hatred.

Chapter 8: The Fleet Arrives in Boston
(51:42-53:22)
Chapter length: 1 minute and 40 seconds

In spring 1774, Parliament sent in a fleet including heavily armed warships and regiments of regulars. The ships sailed into Boston and encircled the port. They displayed the ships' cannons as if ready for a firing exercise against Boston. The troops landed just as they would have disembarked into an enemy port. The civilian royal governor of Massachusetts was replaced by a general who was ordered to put an end to the lawlessness and capture the rebel leaders. The greatest fears of the colonists—British tyranny—seemed to have come true. The Massachusetts legislature was disbanded. The court system and the entire government of Massachusetts were placed under the direct control of the Crown, enforced at the point of a gun. The royal government was ready to put an end to the violence and lawlessness.

CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

Teachers may select activities that are the most appropriate for their students.

SUGGESTED ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Refer to the GUIDE TO RESOURCES and consider one or more of the resources that would complement students' inquiry into this video and its content. The activities below may also be used.

- Ask students to locate at least three different definitions of liberty that might have been used during this period of time. Ask them to compare these definitions with one another. Ask students to use each definition to determine the extent to which particular actions of Parliament and King George III would threaten or limit liberty. The students should justify the decisions that they make for each action. Then ask them to determine whether or not the colonists were right in their view that Parliament and the king were restricting—or giving signs of restricting—their liberty.

- Ask students to read about a key individual during the pre-Revolutionary War period and write a short biography including personality traits and actions that might have affected his or her decisions and actions in the period between 1760 and 1775.

- Ask students to investigate one or more of the reform movements, ethnic groups or special interest groups of the decade before 1775 and the activities of each to achieve its goals.

- Have students examine a topographical and population map of the colonies in 1775. Ask them to make a list of geographical features that might hinder or enhance communication and transportation among the colonies. Have them make a list of advantages and disadvantages these geographical features might present for the colonists as they debated the issues of government, taxation and economics associated with acts and actions of Parliament.

- Ask students to examine a map of the colonies, the Atlantic Ocean, Western Europe and the Caribbean Sea to investigate the layout of the British Empire in these areas and how the distance between the British Isles and the colonies may have contributed to the decisions of the Parliament in 1765 to take a more active part in managing the empire.

- Have students investigate and then list the causes of the American Revolutionary War that they find in their textbooks and other reference books. Have them determine which causes were most frequently mentioned in the sources they find. Have them also reach a consensus definition of cause. Finally, have them use this definition to determine which of the causes they found in the sources were actually ones that fit their definition. Ask them to support their conclusions with evidence.

- Have students study each of the major Acts of Parliament from 1763 to 1776. Ask them to determine the major reasons why Parliament decided that each act was needed. Have them consider specific colonial opposition or support for each act. Some students could be advocates of Parliament and the king's position on each act and others advocates of the colonial resisters' position. Ask students to try to reach a compromise between what the Crown and Parliament wanted and what the colonial resisters wanted. Finally, ask students to define the issues negotiated to reach a comprise.

- Have students study the 1763 Treaty of Paris that ended the French and Indian War. Have them consider how the terms of this treaty may have led the colonists to expand into the former French territories west of the Appalachian Mountains. Ask them also to consider the feelings of the French toward the British when they had to surrender the territories. If given the opportunity, what would they have done as the king of France to weaken Britain?

- Ask students to make a list of reasons why the Loyalists might have stayed loyal to the king and Parliament when all about them were arguments and reasons for opposing them. Ask them to imagine that they were Loyalists. Ask them to write a letter to the king to show their support for him, the Parliament and the law. Or ask them to write a letter to Samuel Adams stating a Loyalist's opposition to what Adams and other colonists were doing.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Below are questions for classroom discussion.

1. Prior to the Stamp Act, what were at least two of the major ambitions of John Adams? of Benjamin Franklin? of George Washington?
2. Prior to 1765, what were Benjamin Franklin's views about being English and about being American?
3. List at least three specific ways the colonists who challenged the Stamp Act justified their reactions.
4. How did the colonists who accepted the Stamp Act justify their reactions?
5. In your own words, what were the most important specific colonial reactions to the Declaratory Act?
6. Why were the colonists concerned about Parliament's passage of the Declaratory Act?
7. What specific actions of the colonists might Hutchinson have claimed were evidence to support his assessment of the situation?
8. Describe the attitudes of the leaders of English government and society toward the colonists who involved commoners in the political affairs of the colonies.
9. Give at least three reasons why soldiers were in Boston in December 1770.
10. What are at least five important facts surrounding the Boston Tea Party? Justify your choices.
11. How did the colonists justify their dumping the tea into the harbor?
12. How did the Tea Party reinforce Parliament's perception that it needed to exercise direct and firm authority over the colonies?
13. What might have been Benjamin Franklin's motives for disclosing the letters of Thomas Hutchinson, royal governor of Massachusetts?
14. To what extent did disclosing the letters bring about the effect that Franklin wanted?
15. How did Benjamin Franklin's views of Britain change between 1765 and 1773–74?
16. Why were soldiers sent to Boston following the Boston Tea Party?
17. What were three immediate consequences for the colony of Massachusetts of dumping the tea into Boston's harbor?

STUDENT RESOURCES

1-A. Questions to Focus Inquiry: The Reluctant Revolutionaries

This exercise focuses students' attention on essential facts in these chapters of the video.

1-B. Context and Overview: The Reluctant Revolutionaries

This activity provides contextual background for the period from 1763 to the Boston Tea Party in December 1773. This information helps students construct a better sense of the perceptions, conditions and attitudes emphasized in this video.

1-C. Content and Overview: The Reluctant Revolutionaries

This project explores Britons' and colonists' mindsets that gave rise to the issues and disagreements associated with the origins of the American Revolution. These details also assist students in constructing a sense of the conditions and moods dominant at the time.

1-D. Context and Overview of the American Revolution: The Role of Key Concepts and Their Meanings

This activity makes students interpret major concepts of the period. It will help them view and analyze concepts critical to the period.

1-E. Meanings of Words Used to Label Individuals during the American Revolutionary Era

This project explores the labels used to indicate people's political position during the era. Students gain an understanding of the difficulty of assigning labels. They also learn that the labels' definitions change depending on one's perspective.

1-F. Noteworthy Quotations: The Reluctant Revolutionaries

This exercise provides a number of quotations illustrative of the various moods and feelings before the outbreak of the war.

STUDENT RESOURCE 1-A

Questions to Focus Inquiry: The Reluctant Revolutionaries

These questions will help focus your attention during the video. The answers will generate thoughts and feelings that are critical to comprehending this era and what the people thought, felt and did.

1. Describe the attitudes that British high society and Parliament likely held toward men like John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and George Washington, as well as other colonists, merely because they lived in the colonies.

2. What might Franklin have said were the best reasons why he left England in 1775 to return to America?

3. What were Parliament's primary purposes for passing the Stamp Act?

4. What were Parliament's primary purposes for passing the Declaratory Act?

5. What were at least three specific colonial reactions to the Stamp Act?

6. What concerned Thomas Hutchinson about the colonists' reactions to the Stamp Act?

7. Describe the attitudes of the leaders of government and society in England toward the colonists who involved commoners in the political affairs of the colonies.

8. What is the definition of a boycott? Name some purposes for a boycott.

9. What did the colonists hope to achieve by boycotting English goods?

10. Why was the Boston Tea Party a significant event of the prewar period?

11. How did the Tea Party confirm Parliament's perceptions that it needed to exercise direct and firm authority over the colonies? How did this event confirm the colonists' perceptions that Parliament was again acting in a tyrannical way?

STUDENT RESOURCE 1-B

Context and Overview: The Reluctant Revolutionaries

The description below is an overview of the video entitled The Reluctant Revolutionaries. *It follows the story in the video, but expands the context and focuses on the general moods and attitudes of the men and women involved in these events.*

What caused the American Revolution? This question has yet to be answered with widespread agreement among scholars. George III was not the brute and tyrant that most Americans believe he was. Under his benign rule, Americans were the freest, the most prosperous and the least taxed people on earth. The colonists in 1760 and even in April 1775, the month of the armed conflicts at Lexington and Concord, paid far fewer taxes per person than had they lived in England. Even the new taxes required by Acts of Parliament after 1763 did not increase their taxes enough to equal those paid by people in England.

The cries of "no taxation without representation" made little sense to the king and Parliament because both saw themselves as representing the British Empire and all of its citizens. Such slogans reflected a concern about other underlying issues such as power, authority, control and sovereignty. Many colonists believed that the king or Parliament or both had become tyrants, i.e., people or groups who act in an arbitrary manner to do as they wish by ignoring the law, the Constitution and the rights of citizens. For instance, many colonists did not see how the British Constitution permitted the Parliament or the king to tax them directly inside their colonies or regulate them by strict enforcement of trade and revenue laws when neither had done so from the beginning of the colonies in 1607. These colonists reasoned that tradition had established the right of the colonies to govern themselves with very little direct supervision and with few restrictions by Parliament and the monarch. They reasoned that tradition had confirmed the practice that Parliament could not levy or enforce internal taxes, those collected inside the colonies. In the British constitutional system, tradition becomes like law, but in 1763 the Crown and Parliament suddenly seemed to have departed from tradition. They insisted that their authority had always extended over the governments established in the colonies. They also contended that their failure to exercise their powers in the past did not mean that they had relinquished any over the colonies.

The colonists believed very strongly that they had the same rights as the citizens of England who were living in England. Beginning in 1763, however, a growing number believed that their rights as citizens were being taken from them or ignored. The resisters reasoned that if the Crown could tax them without representation or their direct approval, then other rights might be taken from them. By the mid-1770s, colonists were less concerned with rights they may have lost than with how far Parliament and the king might go to deprive them of other rights. As the king and Parliament tried to put down the open lawlessness, including destruction of property, looting and physical injury to Loyalists, the colonial resisters' fears of greater threats to their liberty and rights increased. The resisters saw the Intolerable Acts of 1774 as solid evidence that sooner or later all free colonists would be reduced to slaves.

In the first ten years of public opposition to Parliament and the Crown, the majority of colonists fully expected a compromise would occur. After all, over ninety percent of the colonists were British citizens. They continued to view themselves as English citizens who owed allegiance to the king. Even as late as July 1776, many leaders of the colonial opposition toasted the king and their rights as English citizens. They were patriots of Britain, and they also believed that their opposition was their rightful duty as British citizens. These beliefs explain why the colonists expected a peaceful settlement. They believed that the colonies would remain part of the British Empire. They expected the disagreements between the king and Parliament and the colonies to end quickly and to the benefit of all parties. Moreover, most colonists were not certain where their opposition to the Crown and support for such political principles as liberty and natural rights would take them. However, news of the bloody conflict in Lexington and Concord in April 1775 quickly changed the thinking of millions of people on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

The leaders of the colonial opposition in 1765, and even in 1775, did not see themselves as Founding Fathers or even revolutionaries. Few of these men thought of themselves as rebels or viewed their actions as rebellious. They were simply defending their rights as citizens of the British Empire.

At no time before the middle of the 1780s, a full twenty years after the colonists first openly challenged Parliament's authority to tax, did the early colonial opposition leaders intend to set up a large scale democracy or a republic. From the beginning, John Adams, James Otis, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and the other leaders of the Revolution thought democracy was synonymous with anarchy and mob rule. Many of these were the very men who in 1776 supported the ideas that "all men were created equal" and that all men were "endowed by their Creator" to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Many of these same men would attend the Constitutional Convention in 1787 and draw up the present U.S. Constitution.

Once their independence was secure, the colonists eventually supported one of the most revolutionary ideas of the modern world: the idea that ordinary people can have a say in their own governance. However, the Founding Fathers had no desire to establish a democratic government in which the majority of people in the nation could vote. These men feared widespread inclusion of commoners in government. They feared popular or direct democracy and sought protections against rule by the majority of the population. They valued an exclusionary—not an inclusionary—democracy, where the interests of the minority would be protected from the often irrational, emotional and whimsical majority. They also valued sovereignty (or being independent to make one's own choices and to take action without restrictions from outside powers or authority). This concern for sovereignty was one reason why the colonies resisted Parliament and the king, went to war and cooperated with one another to keep the war effort going. The leaders of each colony did not fight the war with the expectation the colony would cease to be an independent nation once the war was won. It was this expectation that lead to the formation of the Confederation in 1781.

We must not forget that the vast majority of colonists—especially those who came over from England—viewed themselves as loyal English citizens. This was true even during the most intense period of activity. They were British and they were proud of being British. That fourteen years after 1763 they would vote to sever all political ties with Britain is enormously paradoxical. Independence, indeed the war, did not have to happen. From the view of many leaders, the situation should never have been allowed to go so far as to cause the colonists to seek independence rather than reconciliation. That the revolution and the war happened were unpredicted, and yet they became fact. Why they happened is still not resolved.

QUESTIONS:

1. Why were the colonists glad to be British citizens?

2. Suppose you were a colonist in 1770 who opposed what Parliament was trying to do. What would be four reasons why you would resist the enforcement of the Acts of Parliament?

3. Suppose you were a colonist in 1770 who supported what Parliament was trying to do. What would be four reasons why you would support the enforcement of the Acts of Parliament?

4. What is the definition of a cause?

5. Using your present knowledge, what were some of the causes of the American Revolution?

6. Did the colonists who initially resisted Parliament in 1765 have a clear idea of the form of government they wanted?

7. How would you define the American Revolution?

STUDENT RESOURCE 1-C

Context and Overview of the American Revolutionary Era

What actually was the American Revolution? What was it that allowed some of the people then, and nearly all of us now, to refer to events of this era as the American Revolution? Was the war itself really the revolution, or did the war mark both the beginning and end of the American Revolution? Did the colonists win a rebellion, a civil war or a revolution? The answers to these questions are linked to the meanings of such terms as revolution, civil war, rebellion and the American Revolution. The challenge is deciding on which meanings are most appropriate. For some, like John Adams, the Revolution occurred before the first shot in Lexington on April 19, 1775. This shot was fired fourteen months before Congress voted to sever all political ties with Britain. For others, the American Revolution is still going on.

What are acceptable answers to the above questions? Such answers depend on your interpretations of events and selected conditions. Appropriate and defensible answers also depend heavily on the concepts and perspectives that one selects. One uses perspectives, concepts and meanings to make sense of what happened and why a revolution happened when, where and as it did. Depending on the concepts and meanings used, one can construct a version of the American Revolution that approaches that of the colonists. One can also construct a version that differs considerably from the Revolution as perceived by those who lived through it.

There is still debate as to whether the beginning of the American Revolution can be traced back to events prior to 1763. In that year the British concluded the Seven Years War (the French and Indian War to the citizens in the thirteen North American colonies of Britain) and was the most powerful nation in the Western world. Its army and navy were the world's best. Britain's North American colonies stretched from Canada in the North through to major islands in the Caribbean Sea. Its people were widely recognized as having more civil rights and freedoms than those in any other nation. In 1763 the colonists were intensely loyal to England and its king. Yet in twelve years armed resistance broke out only in thirteen of Britain's colonies over such concepts as liberty, rights, authority and representation and the theoretical relationships between citizens and government within societies.

As the French and Indian War ended, Parliament and its ministers tried to cope with the problems of empire. They needed to reorganize and modernize the administration of their vast new empire. In order to pay for war debts as well as for defending their present empire, they needed money. They needed to increase revenue by better enforcing existing trade and tax laws. They wanted the colonists who would benefit directly from the steps taken to defend the empire to pay at least part of the costs. And they wanted to preserve the rights and liberties of all British citizens. In fact, Parliament was very concerned about preserving the colonists' civil rights. What it had overlooked was that for nearly 150 years there had been virtually no direct regulation, law enforcement or authority of Parliament in the internal affairs of the colonies.

Meanwhile, the colonists had gotten used to the way that Parliament governed. Their reactions to the first set of Parliamentary Acts beginning in 1765 were unexpectedly negative, widespread and intense. Most people in every colony did not see any reason why the very lax policy of Parliament should change. From the colonists' view, to suddenly start collecting taxes, enforcing laws and regulating directly some of the internal affairs and many of their external activities were examples of arbitrary use of power. They found these actions tyrannical.

Few people in the colonies from 1763 through 1783 could have avoided the discussions of politics and of civil liberties. There were also discussions of their rights as citizens of England and of loyalty to Britain, to Parliament, to law and order and to the king. Throughout the colonies people wondered what should be done to protect their natural rights from what they viewed was an increasingly oppressive and arbitrary, if not power-hungry, king and Parliament. King George III and Parliament never saw themselves as acting arbitrarily or oppressively—or, as the leaders of the colonial resistance claimed, tyrannically. However, these were not the perceptions of their opponents in the colonies. From 1763 onward, the king and Parliament continually struggled to comprehend and assess why the colonists held these perceptions.

The public statements and actions on both sides of the Atlantic made it quite clear that there were two different world views. These differences became clear in the reactions of the colonists to the Acts of Parliament beginning in 1765. Neither the acts, nor Parliament nor King George III caused the American Revolution. They merely were focal points around which the differences that existed in the views of two populations became more apparent. Almost overnight these views were made public. People were willing to act openly in accordance with their world-view. Once this happened, others had to deal with their actions and their justifications for these actions. For instance, once the colonists reacted negatively to the Stamp Act, Parliament had to decide how it should respond to these actions.

There also were many private struggles and desires that contributed to the Revolution and the war. For instance, historian Carl Becker claims that shortly after the close of the French and Indian War, there was a simultaneous struggle concerning home rule (i.e., whether Britain or the colonies would have the highest authority to govern the colonies within the colonies themselves) and who would rule at home (i.e., what individuals and groups within each colony would control the government and economic policies in that colony). For him, the events and positions taken by people clearly show that these were continuous, deep-rooted and serious concerns for many years. With General Cornwallis's surrender in October 1781 and Parliament's decision soon afterwards to discontinue the effort to wage war against the colonies, the matter of home rule was decided.

Their victory in the war meant the colonies had earned the right to govern themselves. The other matter, who would rule at home, was partially decided by the Articles of Confederation and later by the U.S. Constitution. It was also decided within each state and within each community. But in many ways, the matter of who would rule at home continues to affect Americans today.

Between 1765 and 1775 the mood of a large portion of the American population in every colony changed from being proud to be part of Britain to openly defying British laws, Parliament and the king. The protesting colonists questioned the source of the government's authority to rule them and strove to preserve their liberty so that they could exercise their rights as English citizens. The two sides were sharply divided over the extent to which the royal government was limiting the liberty and rights of the colonists. Over the ten-year period culminating on December 16, 1773, the day of the Boston Tea Party, neither side tried hard to reconcile their differences.

These are but a few of the factors that contributed to the 180-degree shift in the attitudes of many colonists. Eventually hundreds of thousands of them risked their "lives, property and sacred honor" to be independent of King George III. Later, many of these same people found that they had to invent a replacement government that preserved the rights of British citizens yet was independent of Britain itself.

QUESTIONS:

1. Cite at least three reasons why the colonists in 1765 were glad to be British citizens.

2. What is your definition of a revolution?

3. Why have historians not agreed completely on a definition of the American Revolution?

4. What factors contributed to the beginning of the American Revolution?

5. After the French and Indian War ended in 1763, what did Parliament attempt to do with Britain's new empire?

6. Define the term tyrant.

7. In your own words, explain historian Carl Becker's view of what happened in the colonies during the revolutionary era.

8. Were the issues of liberty and freedom important ones for the colonists of this period? Why or why not?

41

9. What is your definition of liberty?

10. What is your definition or description of the American Revolution?

STUDENT RESOURCE 1-D

Context and Overview of the American Revolution: The Role of Key Concepts and Their Meanings

One way to interpret the events, decisions and actions of the American Revolution is to use the ideas that seemed to have guided peoples' thinking, feelings and judgments. The important concepts and ideas were invented by the people of the time. For example, people do not terrorize, fight and kill their fellow citizens; tar and feather them; hang them and documents in effigy; declare independence from the most powerful nation in the world; or throw 342 boxes of tea overboard while dressed as Indians for no reason. But, as we see, the colonists did these things because there were concepts and ideas that were very important to them as they interpreted these from their personal perspectives. They used their concepts and ideas to justify their actions; as the bases for major issues and disagreements that sharply divided families, entire communities, colonies and an empire; and as reasons why they risked their lives and property, fought and died—and built an entirely new form of nation.

Liberty is but a word. The meanings that many colonists had of and about liberty were important enough to them that they willingly broke laws, openly and repeatedly resisted the authority of the most powerful empire of the day, declared independence, fought a seven-year war, and framed and reframed a government that they believed was aligned with their meanings. The same can be said for words such as sovereignty, freedom and every other word that was crucial to this period. This is no less true in every war we have fought, every courtroom where the rights of citizens and of non-citizens are considered, and every action that we take in light of liberty in our everyday lives.

Words such as authority, tyranny, freedom, rights, representation, enslavement, rebellion and revolution were also frequently and widely used to justify, defend, motivate and shape the actions of men and women on both sides of the Atlantic. In every instance, it was the meanings of these words that ignited the actions and motivated people to continue to act. Because the meanings of liberty and other words were so important to the people on both sides of the Atlantic from the 1750s through the 1790s, no history of the American Revolution can be complete or adequate without viewing the events that took place from their lenses of liberty, tyranny, authority, natural rights and sovereignty.

At the same time no history of the American Revolution can be complete or adequate without accepting how deeply proud the colonists of 1763–1776 were of being British. The colonists realized that being British allowed them the most civil rights and liberty, the most freedom, the lowest taxes, the most representation and the fewest problems with arbitrary authority (which they called tyranny) than any people in any Western nation. The colonists appreciated these while enjoying the most prosperous economic system in the world. The colonists toasted King George III and the British Constitution. They boasted how much better their lives were under the king and Parliament than as citizens of some other nation. People today have forgotten the intensity of the colonists' loyalty and commitment to Britain. They were proud of the political and civil liberty, freedom and rights they had by being British. Nearly all the colonists loved being British. Until very late in the war, most wanted to remain British. Two months after the Continental Congress voted on July 2, 1776, to sever all political ties with Britain, even Thomas Jefferson wanted Americans to reconcile their differences with Britain.

The colonists based many of their protests on their interpretations of the British Constitution and their rights as citizens of Britain. Throughout the period from 1760 to 1776, they claimed they were exercising as well as protecting their rights as British citizens. Some insisted that they were exercising natural rights that were endowed by the Creator. Some insisted there was a higher authority than the British Constitution. Meanwhile, members of Parliament and eventually King George III rejected the colonists' view of the British Constitution. They also challenged the colonists' views of the rights of colonists as citizens in the empire.

One of the strongest points of disagreement concerned authority. They disagreed on what or who had the highest authority in the empire and in the individual colonies to govern the affairs of citizens within the colonies. By 1776, many colonists accepted that there was a higher authority than the king, Parliament and the British Constitution. This higher authority came in the form of natural laws and natural rights. The colonial leaders claimed humans had rights before they formed groups, societies and governments. So while the liberties and rights under Britain's system were the best in the world, to these colonists there existed greater liberties and more rights in the system provided by natural laws. It was to these unalienable rights that Jefferson and Congress appealed in their reasons for voting for independence from Britain.

One should view the events and statements of the American Revolution in terms of what the critical ideas and concepts, such as liberty, freedom, rights, rebellion and revolution, meant to people who lived during this period of time. These meanings also may shed light on the meanings of these concepts in today's society as well as at different moments in our nation's history after the American Revolution. Finally, these meanings are important because they shaped the decisions made by the Founding Fathers in creating a new system of government. They continue to shape our own lives as we make decisions and act in a nation that continually has to negotiate meanings of laws, rights and normative concepts such as liberty, freedom and happiness. Because the ideas that lead to the American Revolution are still alive in our dialogues, the American Revolution has not ended.

QUESTIONS:

1. What are at least two ways being British affected the colonists' thinking and actions?

2. What were at least seven terms that represent key concepts during this era?

3. What is the definition of liberty?

4. What is the definition of freedom?

5. What is the definition of sovereignty?

6. What was meant by the phrase, "No one ever died for the word liberty"?

7. For what reasons would people fight and die over the meaning of words?

8. What are at least three examples of how these words affect decisions in your daily life?

9. How is it possible to say that the American Revolution has not ended?

10. Of all the concepts listed, which one do you consider the most important one for the government to preserve for each individual?

11. What are at least two reasons why you selected that concept?

STUDENT RESOURCE 1-E

Meaning of Words Used to Label Individuals during the American Revolutionary Era

The position one held on an issue affected how someone was labeled. Assigning appropriate labels to the people at this time is an important job. Everyone who lived in the thirteen colonies was by the 1760s called American. But they were also very much British in that they accepted nearly all of the language, customs and expectations of British citizens of the day. Those who remained aligned with Parliament, the king, royal officials and the British Constitution were usually called Tories or Loyalists. Most called themselves patriots. Those who actively opposed these same things were, at least until July 2, 1776, also very British. More appropriate labels for these latter colonists may be resisters or opposition colonists rather than the traditional labels rebels, revolutionaries or patriots.

In the late 1700s, a rebel was defined as a person who engaged in unlawful and unjustified actions against lawful authority. A revolutionary was a person who engaged in justified actions against unlawful authority. A patriot was a person who was committed to and vowed allegiance to a nation or the recognized government of that nation. As these definitions suggest, the correct label hinges on which position one took then or takes now. For instance, colonists might side with Parliament and the king since they were the lawful authority. Hence, they would believe Parliament and the king were supportive of the rights of English citizens and the British Constitution. Such colonists would be patriots or Loyalists. From their perspective, colonists who opposed the lawful rule of Parliament or the king would be rebels, perhaps even traitors. Or one could take the opposing colonists' view that Parliament and King George III were acting with unlawful authority because they were violating people's natural rights, the civil rights of all English citizens, or the British Constitution. In this case, the colonists who opposed the unlawful rule of Parliament or the king would be revolutionaries. The position on who or what constituted lawful authority could be used to determine the appropriate label for the opposition colonists.

The resisters would become patriots to the United States only after July 2, 1776, when the Continental Congress voted to sever political ties with Britain. One could also claim that the resisters to the Crown and Parliament were patriots to their cause from the moment their cause was first stated, to the British Constitution as they viewed it to be, or to the natural rights on which they based their reasons for protesting. All considered themselves patriots to their particular colony far earlier than they became patriots to a government or political state beyond their colony. Many resisters identified themselves as Americans rather than as Britons who happened to live in the American colonies. In this sense, they were patriots to America. However, casual reference to the resisters as patriots may lead some to claim that the Loyalists, the soldiers in the British army, members of Parliament and even King George III were not patriots.

Another label that was often used at this time was tyrant. Was King George III, for instance, a tyrant? Up to and during the American Revolutionary period on until his death, the vast majority of people in England did not view King George III as being a tyrant. This was opposite of the perception that the leaders of the colonial resistance had of this same king. To people in the British Empire at this time, tyranny—the arbitrary use of power—was linked automatically to the removal or limitation of their liberty and rights as citizens. One key issue in the 1760s was whether or not Parliament's efforts to tax the colonies and enforce imperial tax laws were examples of arbitrary uses of power. The colonists viewed King George III as responsible for the tyranny. Whether or not he was a tyrant is linked to the different conceptions people on both sides of the Atlantic had of the proper use of government authority for governing the internal affairs of the colonies.

QUESTIONS:

1. In your own words, define a rebel and a revolutionary. What distinguishes the two?

47

2. Explain the main characteristics of a tyrant.

3. What makes a patriot? Support your answer with several specific examples of patriots.

4. Suppose you switched your position on a particular issue. Would this tend to change the label that people used to identify you?

5. Why should one be cautious about interpreting the labels that were assigned to people who lived during another period? How do we face similar confusion with labels today? Cite examples to support your argument(s).

STUDENT RESOURCE 1-F

Noteworthy Quotations: The Reluctant Revolutionaries

This exercise provides quotations illustrative of the various moods and feelings prior to the outbreak of the war. You should be able to interpret each quotation in the context of the person and situation within which the words were stated.

Men like Washington, Franklin, John Adams "know that by the standard of England, by the measure of England, they are not respected, they are not looked up to as great men, they are not looked upon as grandees. They are at best men of commercial wealth. And yet they have this pretension themselves, within their society of their own self-importance. And this makes them uncomfortable when they confront England."

Historian Ron Hoffman, in reference to some of the men who would come to be known as the Founding Fathers

"The Stamp Act imposed on the colonies by the Parliament of Great Britain is an ill-judged measure. Parliament has no right to put its hands into our pockets without our consent."

George Washington, member of Virginia legislature, in reaction to the Stamp Act, fall 1765

"This [Stamp] tax is going to touch everyone. It's probably one of the dumbest political acts in the history of government."

Historian Carol Berkin, 1996

"You must not deprive the colonies of their right to make laws for themselves. Parliament should only make laws necessary for the empire as a whole."

Thomas Hutchinson, Crown-appointed chief justice of Massachusetts in reaction to the Stamp Act, fall 1765

"We've nothing to fear but slavery. Love your liberty and fight for it like men who know its value. Once lost, it will never, never be regained."

Man in a colonial tavern reacting to the Stamp Act, fall 1765

"Everyone will suffer if the peace and order in the community are destroyed. I hope everyone will see how easily the people may be duped, inflamed and carried way with madness."

Thomas Hutchinson responding to the violence and lawbreaking of the colonists in reaction to the Stamp Act, fall 1765

"The taxes and duties imposed on us by Parliament must be instantly opposed. The only effective opposition is through the concerted efforts of all the provinces. By uniting we stand; by dividing we fall."

Philadelphia lawyer John Dickinson, urging the colonists to unite against the Stamp Act, fall 1765

"What are we doing with our constant insisting on taxing the Americans? We're not getting any revenue from them. Instead, we're pushing them to disorder and disobedience. You can wade up to your eyes in blood, and you'll still be where you started with no revenue. We make money from trade, not tax. Let the Americans tax themselves."

Edmund Burke, member of Parliament, in response to the colonists' protests of the Stamp Act

"The idea that a body of men in England, who know nothing about the colonies, who see nothing of the misery that their taxes will inflict on us, have given themselves the right to command our lives and our property at all times and in all cases whatsoever, this is the logic of robbers and highwaymen. It doesn't take a genius to see that this is going to lead to oppression and tyranny."

New England woman's reaction to the increased duties on imported goods from England, 1766

"There are these town meetings, which people of wealth and character do not even attend, because they are sure to be out voted by men of the lowest order . . . . So it is government by the mob. This has given the inferior people such a sense of their own importance, that a gentleman does not get from them even common civility anymore."

Thomas Hutchinson responding to the colonists trying to organize themselves in reaction to the Stamp Act, 1766

"Block English goods—starve their trade and manufacturing. Yes . . . . The more I think about this plan [of boycott], the more ardently I wish it success."

George Washington on hearing of plans for the colonies to unite in boycotting goods to and from England to protest acts of Parliament after the repeal of the Stamp Act

"I'm no friend of riots and tumults. But when people are oppressed, when their rights are infringed on, when arbitrary rulers are put over them, when government is secret, the people become alarmed. If they have any spirit of freedom, they'll fight for their liberties, and they're justified in doing so."

Samuel Adams, Massachusetts merchant, in helping to organize and maintain the boycott of imported goods, 1767

"A thirst for liberty seems to be the ruling passion of the present age. This restless spirit can cause anarchy and confusion, unless some external power restrains it. . . . Perhaps there must be an abridgment of our English liberties—for the good of the colony."

Thomas Hutchinson, chief justice of Massachusetts on events in the colony prior to 1770

"I am very fond of the measures you [members of Parliament] are taking, with the end of bringing the Americans to their duty. I do not, however, want to drive them to despair, only to submission."

King George III's message to Parliament, circa 1773

"We are all throwing the tea overboard. We catch someone in our party trying to stuff some of the tea in his pockets. He is stripped of his booty and his clothes, and we send him home naked, in disgrace. Then we went home in an orderly fashion. Boston enjoys the most peaceful night that it has had in many a month."

George Hewes, one of the Mohawk Indians who dumped tea into Boston harbor, December 16, 1773

"Now in the province of Massachusetts Bay, you have no government, no governor. You have only the proceedings of a tumultuous and riotous rabble—merchants collecting themselves together to debate political matters. We will put an end to their town meetings and let them return to their shops and not trouble themselves with politics and government, which they do not understand."

Lord Littleton in response to the dumping of the tea in Boston harbor, 1774

"They have begun killing the messengers. What I feel for myself is lost in what I feel for my country. It seems that I am too much of an American."

Benjamin Franklin, January 1774, in reacting to his treatment in the cockpit

MODULE II: BLOWS MUST DECIDE

UNIFYING CONCEPTS AND THEMES

resistance, reconciliation, rebellion, revolution, independence

KEY VOCABULARY

coercion, intolerable, resolution, rabble, congress, militia, petition, olive branch, standing army, political ties, subversion, tyrant, tyranny

STUDENT LEARNING EXPECTATIONS

Module II addresses events, attitudes, conditions, issues and concerns associated with the period from January 1774 (a month after the Boston Tea Party) to the approval of the Declaration of Independence two-and-a-half years later on July 4, 1776. It also focuses on the severance of all legal and political ties with the British Empire. At the end of this lesson, students should be able to:

- describe the reactions of Parliament to the Bostonians' dumping of the tea into their harbor.
- state the reasons why the colonies decided to organize a Continental Congress in the fall of 1774 that invited representatives from all the colonies to participate.
- describe John Adams's view about the way society should be organized and how his view differed from Britain's traditional social system.
- state John Adams's concerns regarding the attitudes that representatives to the Continental Congress may have held about the people of Boston.
- state at least four major results of the fall 1774 meeting of the Continental Congress.
- state the reasons why Parliament and King George III might have felt betrayed by the decisions of the First Continental Congress.
- describe the attitude of King George III toward the colonists who continued to resist the authority and rule of Parliament and the royal officials in the colonies.
- state the reasons why King George III viewed the situation in the colonies as being a rebellion.
- state major details of the events that took place in and around Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775.
- describe at least three major consequences of the events that took place in and around Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775.
- state major details and results of the events that took place in and around Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill in mid-June 1775.
- state the reasons why the Continental Congress decided to form a standing army that would represent the united colonies.
- state the major reasons why George Washington was selected as the commanding general of the Continental army.
- state at least five characteristics of the army that George Washington found on his arrival in Cambridge as commanding general.
- state at least three reasons why blacks would have enlisted in the Continental army.
- state a definition of an "olive branch petition" and explain why King George III refused such a petition.
- state the reasons why men like John Adams might have thought efforts like the Olive Branch Petition were useless.
- state at least three reasons why John Dickinson might have said that "we need Britain. We need Britain to hold ourselves together."
- state Thomas Paine's main arguments in his pamphlet *Common Sense*.

- describe the impact that Common Sense had on moving the Continental Congress to vote the colonies independent of Britain.

- define independence and describe what it meant for the colonies to become independent of Britain.

- state the primary purpose of the document we know today as the Declaration of Independence.

- state at least two reasons why John Adams believed that Americans would celebrate July 2, 1776, as their "day of deliverance."

- state at least three ideas that historians Gordon Wood and John Keegan had about the meaning of Congress's approval of the resolution for independence.

SYNOPSIS: BLOWS MUST DECIDE

For a synopsis of the program, see Student Resource 2-B. You may wish to provide students with these sheets after viewing the video.

SYNOPSIS OF EACH CHAPTER

Chapter 1: Parliament Is Angry

(02:25-05:15)

Chapter length: 2 minutes and 50 seconds

The video begins with the reactions of Parliament to the news of the Boston Tea Party. The dumping of British tea into Boston Harbor was seen as an unforgivable provocation. The British government saw what happened in Boston as a total defiance of the authority of the British state.

In an angry mood, Parliament passed a series of acts designed to punish Boston. They put Massachusetts under martial law, and sent in a military governor, General Thomas Gage. They closed the port of Boston. Parliament called these the Coercive Acts; the Americans called them the Intolerable Acts. The colonial legislatures decided the leaders from all the colonies must meet to discuss the situation and the response of the colonies to Boston's situation. They feared that what was happening to Massachusetts could just as easily and quickly happen to any colony.

Chapter 2: The Continental Congress Meets

(05:16-11:48)

Chapter length: 6 minutes and 32 seconds

In August 1774, John Adams left Boston for Philadelphia to represent Boston in the Continental Congress. On his way he passed through New York City. The narrator and historians reveal a number of perceptions that Adams had about the traditional rigid class system favored by those in England and by those in the colonies who wanted to be like those in England. Instead of a system based on kin, family and blood, Adams preferred one based on merits, talent and achievement. He envisioned the events between England and the colonies as being a movement supported by providence to create a new society and a new view of individuals. Adams sensed that something big was about to happen and that the Americans would benefit from whatever it was. He also was aware that what happened in this congress would greatly affect all the colonies, particularly Massachusetts and those who had resisted obeying Parliament and many of the traditional laws of the colony.

On September 5, 1774, the fifty-six-delegate Continental Congress began deliberations. Its members were not certain how the other colonies would respond to the British occupation of Boston. There was the strong suspicion among some delegates that the leaders of Massachusetts were hotheads and troublemakers. After two months of discussions, the colonies represented in the congress decided to fully support Massachusetts. They sent a petition to King George III demanding the end of military rule in Boston. Another petition to him affirmed their loyalty to him and Britain. More significantly, the delegates also passed a resolution that the colonists should arm themselves and prepare to defend themselves with force, if necessary, against any future British aggression. These decisions reveal that the leaders of the colonies were prepared to stick together and work together to achieve the political goals of their respective colonies. The thirteen individual protest movements representing each colony on its own became one united protest movement that included all the colonies. In their final dinner, the delegates offered a toast of loyalty to their king.

Chapter 3: A Sense of Betrayal

(11:50-13:53)

Chapter length: 2 minutes and 3 seconds

When King George III heard that the colonists agreed to arm themselves, he stated that "if the rabble in Boston is committed to open rebellion, then the king's honor, and the safety of the empire, require that force be met with force. They are a disorganized mob which cannot present a very great opposition to our regular troops. Perhaps it is better to bring on a small conflict now, rather than later, when a rebellious spirit has had a chance to ripen." He was ready to take even more drastic measures to show the colonists who was in charge of governing the colonies. At the same time, the majority of members of Parliament, even some of the strongest supporters to date of the colonial position, were bitter and felt betrayed. They saw the colonial actions as rebellion within the family. Both Parliament and the king had run out of patience. They agreed they had to restore civil order and the authority of the royal government. In what they considered a police action, they sent another thousand soldiers to Boston, along with three new generals: Burgoyne, Clinton, and Howe.

Chapter 4: The Shot Heard round the World
(13:55-20:32)

Chapter length: 6 minutes and 47 seconds

Throughout the colonies, people responded quickly to the Continental Congress's call to arms. Since the founding of the colonies, each province had had a militia to deal with local emergencies. Radicals seized control of these militias along with their stores of guns and ammunition. In Massachusetts, the citizens grew more openly defiant of the civil laws and royal authority. General Gage received reports that the rebels had stored a large cache of munitions in Concord, a half-day journey from Boston. Gage decided to send a detachment of 700 troops into the countryside to capture these munitions. It was to be a minor operation. A Boston silversmith, Paul Revere, heard of this plan. Paul Revere and perhaps as many as fifty members of the resistance spread the word to the surrounding communities. Contrary to legend, these men probably warned the countryside that the "Regulars are coming!" rather than "The British are coming!" Remember that at this time all the colonists were part of the British Empire and it would have made no sense to people to be awakened in the middle of the night by the cry of "The British are coming!" After all, all the colonists were British.

On the road alongside and on the commons in Lexington on April 19, 1775, the local militia under Captain Parker turned out to meet the Crown troops. No one knows who fired the first shot at Lexington, but the shot set off uncontrolled firing. The British continued on to Concord and captured the store of munitions. By this time hundreds of minutemen and members of the militia from neighboring communities began arriving along the route and heard of what had happened. The colonists swarmed in around them. Two hundred and sixty-nine Crown soldiers were killed or wounded. The remains of the detachment limped back to Boston. Throughout the colonies news of Lexington and Concord spread like wildfire. Militias and unattached individuals from the New England colonies, Virginia and Pennsylvania marched to Boston. They built camps and fortifications so that the Boston peninsula was blocked off. They were ready to stay for a long time. George Washington viewed the events in Massachusetts as similar to a brother stabbing a brother in the breast. He wrote, "Either we are to live as slaves, or the once happy plains of America are to be drenched in blood."

Chapter 5: Congress Chooses a General
(20:34-24:44)

Chapter length: 4 minutes and 10 seconds

In May, 1775, a second Continental Congress was called to assemble in Philadelphia. This Congress was the first government of the collective colonies because it took on the tasks associated with the executive and legislative branches of typical three-part governmental tasks. The colonies had to prepare to fight a major war that would likely be long and bloody if reconciliation was not achieved. But there was no army. There were simply local militia forces under the control of each community. They feared having a standing army, yet they saw no alternative. Congress decided to take the ragtag collection of volunteers camped around Boston and form a national army. One of its next tasks was to appoint a commanding general of all the armies of the colonies united. As the richest man in the colonies, Boston merchant John Hancock assumed that he was the only possible choice for general of this new army. John Adams, a close friend of Hancock, addressed Congress. He knew that for the colonies to remain united and for them to have a chance to win, the general had to be from outside of New England, to be a member of the upper class, and to have some military experience. Only George Washington, from Virginia, fit these criteria. Washington, at age forty-three, accepted the position and immediately set out for Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Chapter 6: Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill
(24:45-28:37)

Chapter length: 3 minutes and 52 seconds

As Congress deliberated, the first major engagement of the American revolution was fought. In May and June 1775, the militia forces moved in to occupy Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill on the Charlestown peninsula. Their guns threatened the Crown's navy, anchored in Boston Harbor. The Crown forces responded by burning nearby Charlestown. Then 2,000 Crown soldiers charged uphill toward the American positions. The American forces, having the advantage of height, fired down on the advancing infantry. Line after line of Crown soldiers were mowed down. When the American ammunition ran out, the Crown troops finally took both Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill. But it was a costly victory. Nearly one-third of the Crown troops were killed or wounded. The soldiers from England found out that the colonists would stand and fight—and would not give up when challenged by soldiers from the best army in the world at the time.

Nine miles from the battleground, Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams, helped take care of the wounded and exhausted men, women and children. In a letter to John, she said that "this is but the first scene of what may be a great tragedy."

Chapter 7: An Army That Wasn't an Army
(28:38-33:00)

Chapter length: 4 minutes and 22 seconds

Both sides were recovering from Bunker Hill when at the end of June 1775, Washington arrived at the colonial encampment in Cambridge. He found a disorganized assemblage rather than an army. Men slept in the open or went home at night. They lacked weapons, ammunition and uniforms. He even found that many units elected their own officers. He began immediately to enforce discipline, to change the way officers were chosen and to convince his men that the enemy was indeed the enemy. He also assumed many of the minor roles that were required to manage an army and its supplies and needs.

Washington was also shocked to find blacks and whites together. He was, after all, a slave owner. He quickly learned that he needed every soldier he could get. During the American Revolution, over 25,000 Black soldiers fought on both sides. In time a full one-fifth of the American northern army and many local militias were made up of Negroes—the word used in that era. The war for independence and liberty was the most racially integrated war fought by Americans until 1941.

Chapter 8: An Olive Branch
(33:02-39:00)

Chapter length: 5 minutes and 58 seconds

This chapter opens with a quote by Abigail Adams, who wondered whether the colonists could "regain . . . [their] liberty without blood being shed." She was not alone in hoping that the disagreements between the colonists and Britain could end without further fighting. For her like others, the possibility of a full scale war began to sink in. Most colonists were desperate for reconciliation.

Perhaps it was not too late to end the fighting. Most colonists still believed that the differences could be reconciled. The thought of fighting against their homeland and fellow Englishmen did not appeal to the majority, especially the majority of the upper class in each colony. In the congress, too, the stress was evident. John Dickinson, an early activist and one of John Adams's personal heroes, called for reconciliation. He urged the congress to send another petition to England. John Adams was convinced that reconciliation was all but impossible. He wrote in his diary: "These petitions are a fruitless waste of time. We should be finding supplies of gunpowder instead. While we petition, the poor people of Boston—imprisoned within the walls of the city—suffer we know not what cruelties at the hands of His Majesty's army. John Dickinson and the gentlemen of Pennsylvania say that they are ardently with us, but as they see the break with England approaching, they start back. I see terror in their eyes."

Dickinson drafted a petition bypassing Parliament. Addressed directly to the king, it pleaded with him to intervene directly and settle the dispute. The Olive Branch Petition was seen as the last, best hope for peace. Despite John Adams's vigorous objections, it was approved by the congress on July 5, 1775. At the same time he received this petition, the king received news that the rebels had formed an army and were preparing to attack British bases in Canada. He also received news of the colonists' slaughter of royal troops in the Battle of Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill. He was in no mood for forgiveness or reconciliation. He declared the colonies enemies. The royal ministers ordered the navy to attack New England seaport towns. The Crown navy bombarded Falmouth, in what is now Maine, and burned it to the ground. The members of the Continental Congress were stunned. Like it or not, the colonists had a full-scale war on their hands.

Chapter 9: Common Sense
(39:01-43:59)

Chapter length: 4 minutes and 58 seconds

No one was certain what would happen next. One person, though, knew precisely what he wanted and what he thought was the best thing for the colonies—independence. Thomas Paine was born in England in 1738. He attempted several careers, from corset maker to customs collector; he was a failure at all of them. When he came to Philadelphia in 1774, he brought with him a burning rage against the privileged classes and the injustice of the British political system. Paine was a well-read man from the labor class. Thus, he understood the republican ideals of the common folk. He held a radical idea: that ordinary people could participate in government. His pamphlet *Common Sense*, published in January 1776, outlined these views and became popular instantly, selling over 100,000 copies in a few months. Its understandable language and style appealed to a wide audience. Parts of it were reprinted in newspapers throughout the colonies. It was read aloud after church, in taverns and at town meetings. Officers read it to their troops. The tide seemed to turn in favor of independence.

More and more people began to sense possibilities in one or more of the new systems of government that independence might bring. Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, John: "In the new laws which you will be writing, please remember the ladies. Don't put unlimited power in the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if you gave them a chance. If you don't pay attention to the ladies, then you can't expect us to obey any laws in which we don't have voice or representation."

Chapter 10: Independence
(44:00-53:35)
Chapter length: 9 minutes and 35 seconds

Throughout the colonies in the spring of 1776, royal officials were under attack. They could get no direct support from the British army, which was entirely concentrated in Massachusetts. Except in Boston, power was soon entirely in the hands of local resisters to the Crown. A new flag appeared. It had thirteen stripes, but the Union Jack was still in the corner. With all that had happened, the colonies were still not ready for a complete break with England. The Second Continental Congress was originally formed as an ad hoc committee, but its members found themselves running a fledgling army, trying to raise money, advising the states on setting up governments, building roads and running the post office.

In March 1776, the congress received startling news. All the Crown forces had evacuated Boston. They were regrouping for a massive invasion of New York City. Congress ordered Washington to take his entire army to New York City to defend it at all costs. For many, the decision about independence could not be put off any longer. They were certain the time had come to make a formal decision for or against total independence from England. In early June, the congress began considering a resolution to sever all political ties with Britain. Shortly afterward, it appointed a committee led by John Adams to write a statement that would declare to the world why the colonies wanted to be independent from Britain. He immediately turned over the job of writing it to a relatively unknown Virginia planter, Thomas Jefferson. Borrowing ideas from English philosophers, the Virginia Constitution and the spirit of Tom Paine, Jefferson wrote a first draft in a morning. The document was to provide a justification to the world as to why the colonies, united together, had decided to sever their political and legal ties with England.

The resolution for independence was passed by the Continental Congress on July 2, 1776, on behalf of the United States of America. Significantly, they noted that they used the term states and not colonies. On July 3, John Adams wrote, "Yesterday the greatest question which was ever debated in America was decided, a greater perhaps than ever was or will be decided among men. The second day of July 1776 ought to be commemorated by succeeding generations as the day of deliverance. It ought to be celebrated by pomp and parade, with shows and games, sports, bells, bonfires and illuminations from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward forever more."

On July 4, the congress reviewed the draft of the statement justifying their decision. After long debate, they changed much of the document but left untouched Jefferson's stirring preamble. Jefferson took what was to be a simple declaration of the colonies' independence from England and turned it into something that changed the world forever. On this same day, they approved the document we know as the Declaration of Independence. Nowhere on the document did the authors write that this was the declaration of independence; the name was assigned to the document after its approval. The document was approved two days after the Continental Congress had officially voted the states independent of the British Empire. Nearly three weeks later, the members signed the document of justification.

In the minds of the colonists who supported independence, as of July 2 the colonies were no longer tied to Britain. From that date forward, they believed they were fighting a war to remain independent. However, Parliament, King George III and the most powerful army and navy in the world would not go away merely because a few men voted to withdraw from the empire.

The colonists did not desire independence because they knew what form of government they wanted. They did not seem to want to be independent because they did not want a king or Parliament. They wanted to be free of the particular people in the Parliament at the time and of King George III, both of whom they thought had acted as tyrants. Once they voted for independence, they then had the task of deciding what form of government they wanted. Even the most active and dedicated leaders were uncertain as to what their government would be like. At the same time each colony insisted that it was an independent nation. They would unite and cooperate in the war against Britain. This did not mean each colony-now-nation would give up its sovereignty easily or hurriedly.

CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

Teachers may select activities that are the most appropriate for their students.

SUGGESTED ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Refer to the GUIDE TO RESOURCES and consider one or more of the resources that complement students' inquiry into this video and its content. The activities below may also be used.

- Ask students to read the Declaration of Independence and interpret the opening sections as Jefferson and other people of his time would likely have interpreted it. Ask them to compare these with modern interpretations of the text. Have them cite specific similarities and differences.

- Ask students to read Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. Have them summarize the main points that he emphasized in his essay. Do they think that he presented a reasonable case for the colonists to seek independence? Did he know the kind of government he wanted after the colonists won their independence? Have them give specific reasons (e.g., passages from the text) to support their arguments.

- Ask students to study the life and ideas of Thomas Paine. They could create an autobiography of Paine. Have them consider other areas of his life and why he was not very successful in many of them. Or they could explain the impact he had on thinking in the American colonies during the Revolutionary era and/or in France in the 1790s; have them compare the impact he had in these two nations.

- Ask students to inquire into the efforts made by the Crown and the colonists to bring a peaceful settlement to the war. Have them investigate key resolutions or actions that represented efforts to reconcile the two sides. Have them describe the key requirements of each reconciliation resolution or offer. Have them state what happened to each resolution or offer and the reasons why each failed.

- Ask students to examine the details of the Battles of Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill. They should evaluate the events that took place on the day of these battles and the efforts of Crown soldiers to capture these hills. Have them describe what the colonists used as ammunition in their cannons.

- Ask students to inquire into the exact date and circumstances surrounding the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Have them determine the exact date and circumstances and the reasons why this date is often forgotten as the actual signing date. Have them determine why people have traditionally viewed July 4, 1776, as the date it was signed.

- Ask students to examine the Declaration of Independence and select key ideas that should be used to guide governmental actions, laws and policies. Have students then examine the U.S. Constitution to determine if there are parts that support each of these ideas. They may want to make a list of ideas in the Declaration that are represented in the Constitution and ones that are not. Then students should explain why some of these ideas are not included in the Constitution.

- Ask students to examine different definitions of liberty. Have them select the definitions they consider to be the best. Can they consolidate these into one? Then have them examine the Declaration of Independence to decide whether the ideas in the Declaration support their definition of liberty.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Below are questions for classroom discussion.

1. How did John Adams think society should be organized?
2. John Adams was concerned about the attitudes that representatives to the Continental Congress may have held about the people of Boston. What were three of his concerns?
3. What were at least four major results of the fall 1774 meeting of the Continental Congress?
4. Parliament and King George III probably felt betrayed by the decisions of the First Continental Congress. What are at least three reasons why they probably felt betrayed?
5. Describe King George III's attitude towards the colonists who continued to resist the authority and rule of Parliament and the royal officials in the colonies.
6. Why did King George III view the situation in the colonies as a rebellion?
7. What are the major details and results of the events that took place in and around Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill in mid-June 1775?
8. Why would blacks have enlisted in the Continental army?
9. What are at least three major reasons why the Olive Branch Petition was not accepted by King George III?
10. Why did John Adams believe that efforts like the Olive Branch Petition were a "fruitless waste of time"?
11. Reflecting upon the situation in the colonies, John Dickinson declared that "we need Britain. We need Britain to hold ourselves together." What are at least three reasons he might have given for saying this?

STUDENT RESOURCES

2-A. Questions to Focus Inquiry: Blows Must Decide This exercise focuses students' attention on essential facts in these chapters of the video.

2-B. Content and Overview: Blows Must Decide This activity provides contextual background for the period from the Boston Tea Party (December 16, 1773) to the opening months of the war (April 1775). This information helps students construct a better sense of the perceptions, conditions and attitudes emphasized in the video.

2-C. Noteworthy Quotes: Blows Must Decide This exercise provides a number of quotations illustrative of the various moods and feelings during the period from the Boston Tea Party to the outbreak of the war.

STUDENT RESOURCE 2-A

Questions to Focus Inquiry: Blows Must Decide

These questions will help focus your attention during the video. The answers will generate thoughts and feelings that are critical to comprehending this era and what the people thought, felt and did.

1. What words would appropriately describe the reactions of Parliament to the dumping of the tea into Boston's harbor?

2. The colonies decided to organize a Continental Congress in fall of 1774 and invited representatives from all the colonies to participate. Why did they want to form this congress?

3. How did John Adams think American society should be organized differently than Britain's traditional social system?

4. What were at least four major results of the fall 1774 meeting of the Continental Congress?

5. Parliament and King George III probably felt betrayed by the decisions of the First Continental Congress. Explain at least three causes for their sense of betrayal.

6. Describe King George III's attitudes towards the colonists who continued to resist Parliament's and royal officials' authority.

7. Why did King George III viewed the situation in the colonies as a rebellion?

8. What were at least three major consequences of the events that took place in and around Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775?

9. The Continental Congress decided to form a standing army that would represent the united colonies. Explain why they formed this army.

10. Define the term olive branch.

11. What were at least three ideas that Thomas Paine expressed in his pamphlet *Common Sense?*

12. Given the situation in 1776, what specific actions were required for the colonies to be independent of Britain?

13. John Adams believed that Americans would celebrate July 2, 1776, as their "day of deliverance." What was the major reason why he believed this date was so important?

STUDENT RESOURCE 2-B

Context and Overview: Blows Must Decide

The description below is an overview of the video entitled Blows Must Decide. *It follows the story in the video, expands the context and focuses on the general moods and attitudes of the men and women involved in these events.*

For three years after the verdicts of the soldiers in the Boston Massacre case in December 1770, the situation in the colonies was very quiet. Few protests had occurred against the royal government. Only the destruction of the royal revenue ship, the *Gaspee*, in June 1772 interrupted the calm between the colonies and Parliament.

In December 1773, Parliament, King George III and nearly all the people of England were waiting for the good news regarding the selling of tea in the colonies. The ships had arrived in mid- to late November. If all went according to plan, the colonists would buy the tea at the lowest price in the entire empire. At the same time they would be paying a very low tax. Paying the tax would also represent the colonists' willingness to contribute to the bills of the empire and follow the laws passed by Parliament. What they did not know in late December was that on December 16 something had already happened that they would not like.

In January 1774, Parliament and King George III heard the news of the Boston Tea Party. They were very upset. They could think of no justifiable reason for anyone to dump that supply of tea into Boston Harbor. To them, what happened in Boston was a total defiance of the authority of the British state. Both Parliament and the king were tired of trying to appease the colonists. It seemed as though nothing they could do would satisfy the rebels in Massachusetts. They agreed that very stern measures were needed—and needed immediately. Parliament passed a series of acts, referred to as the Coercive Acts (called the Intolerable Acts by the colonists). These acts included the closing of Boston harbor and restrictions on all public meetings. More troops were sent to enforce the law and to restore order. Parliament wanted the colonists to know that it was the highest legal authority for the empire. Parliament would no longer tolerate the illegal activities of the colonists.

People in all thirteen colonies were horrified by these restrictions. Again they thought that if Parliament could do these things to one colony, it could do them in any colony. Representatives from all the colonies met in Philadelphia in September 1774. They called themselves the Continental Congress. This congress had no legal authority, but it was charged with deciding what response the colonies should have to the latest actions by Parliament. The emphasis was on unity. They wanted all the colonies work together as a single body rather than each colony operating independently. Its members decided to alert the people to arm themselves and prepare for the defense of their colony. They petitioned the king to find a way to settle the disagreements between Parliament and the protesting colonists. Another petition proclaimed the loyalty of the colonists to King George III. These delegates were aware that most of the colonists had either remained silent or had expressed their loyalty to England and the king.

King George III rejected the petitions in part because the colonists professed their loyalty while simultaneously arming themselves. Both Parliament and King George III felt betrayed by the protesting colonists. They viewed what was happening in the colonies as a rebellion within the family. They did not want to fight a war against their fellow citizens. They did, however, want to stop the situation from getting any worse. They ordered General Thomas Gage, commander of the Royal Army, sent to Massachusetts to capture the leaders of the rebellion and to limit the opposition. When Gage heard of a store of munitions in Concord, a half-day walk from Boston, he sent 700 soldiers to capture it. Paul Revere and over forty-five others warned the countryside of the march to Concord. The militia of Lexington confronted the regulars on April 19, 1775. Almost immediately a shot was fired from an unknown source. When the regulars opened fire, the militia fired back. Order was quickly restored. The regulars moved on to Concord and then back to Boston. Scores of people on both sides were dead or wounded. The damage had been done. The exchange of words and ideas had become an exchange of bullets. That same evening armed colonists began the encirclement of Boston. They dug trenches and prepared themselves for a long stay. In their minds, the regulars had to be restricted from ever leaving Boston. They also wanted revenge for Lexington and Concord.

People throughout the colonies and England were shocked by the bloodshed. British troops had fired on British citizens. They also heard that the militia of these citizens appeared to be ready to fire upon those same troops. The attitudes of millions of people were immediately affected by the news of this event. The fighting, bloodshed and deaths meant that people on both sides had to take the situation much more seriously than they had. At the same time, more people hoped that something could be done to prevent further fighting.

It took but a few seconds that morning to change the thinking of the leaders on both sides of the issues. Many hoped that both sides could reconcile their differences, but a reconciliation would take time, willingness and skill. In the meantime, General Gage ordered his troops to capture Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill across the harbor from Boston. His troops finally drove out the colonists but at very heavy cost in lives and wounded. Defeating the colonists would not be as easy as he had thought.

Leaders of the protesting colonists acted quickly to decide what to do. In May 1775, a second Continental Congress was assembled. The delegates from all thirteen colonies agreed to work together as the united colonies. This was an illegal group that took it upon itself to manage the responses of the colonies. They organized a Continental army and picked George Washington to command it. They also petitioned the king to find a way to stop the situation from getting any worse. The petition failed. When King George III read their petition for reconciliation in September 1775, he also heard about the slaughter of his troops at Bunker Hill and of plans by the colonists to invade Canada. King George III declared the colonies enemies. It was almost as if he said, "If they want a war, I'll give them one!"

Meanwhile the attitudes of many colonists changed. They feared the consequences if they continued to live under the rule of Parliament. All were uncertain about their chances of winning a war against the king's forces. There was a great deal of uncertainty as to what the colonists should do next. In this environment of uncertainty, Thomas Paine published *Common Sense*. In his pamphlet of January 1776, he made a very readable and persuasive argument for the colonies to do what was necessary to be independent from Britain. He stated that the colonists had the power to "begin the world anew." He also advocated that, once independent, the people form a new system of government that preserved the rights of all men. Within months over 100,000 copies were printed and read. Suddenly the matter of independence was a publicly discussed issue in every community. More and more people became convinced that the colonies had to free themselves from rule by Britain; they had to be independent.

Six months later, the Continental Congress formally began discussion on the issue of independence. On July 2, 1776, they voted to sever all ties with Britain. Two days later they approved a document that stated the reasons why they had voted the colonies independent. This document immediately began to be called the Declaration of Independence, even though those words were contained nowhere in it. Once the decision was made for independence, the military struggle became the war to remain independent. We call this war the American Revolutionary War.

The colonists did not desire independence because they knew what form of government they wanted. They did not seem to want to be independent because they did not want a king or the Parliament. They wanted to be free of the particular people in the Parliament at the time and of King George III; they thought that both had acted tyrannically. Once they voted for independence, they then had the task of deciding what form of government they wanted. Even the most active and dedicated leaders were uncertain about what their government would be like. At the same time each colony insisted that it was an independent nation. They would unite and cooperate in the war against Britain. This did not mean each colony-now-nation would give up its sovereignty easily or hurriedly.

QUESTIONS:

1. What words would best describe the mood of Parliament and King George III during December 1773?

2. Imagine that you were King George III and you had just received news of the Boston Tea Party. What would you now think of the citizens of Boston?

3. Imagine you were in the First Continental Congress and had to decide how to respond to the situation in Boston after the Coercive Acts. What are three actions you would have proposed this congress take immediately to respond to these acts?

4. George Washington was selected as the General of the Continental army. What were at least three major reasons why he was chosen?

5. George Washington found an unusual army on his arrival in Cambridge as general. What were the major characteristics of that army?

6. What are at least three major reasons why the Olive Branch Petition was not accepted by King George III?

7. The ideas in *Common Sense* focused on the colonies being independent of Britain. What effects did these ideas have on the attitudes of the colonists toward independence?

8. What is a definition of independence? Does the definition depend upon a particular context?

9. Given the situation in 1776, what did it mean for the colonies to become independent of Britain?

10. What was the primary purpose of the document we know today as the Declaration of Independence?

11. What were three of the important ideas that were included in the Declaration of Independence?

STUDENT RESOURCES 2-C

Noteworthy Quotations: Blows Must Decide

This exercise provides quotations illustrative of the various moods and feelings after the outbreak of the war to the signing of the Declaration of Independence. You should be able to interpret each quotation in the context of the person and situation within which the words were stated.

"If you could close the port of Boston, you could close the port of New York, or Philadelphia. If you could undo the Massachusetts Charter, you could undo any of the charters. Any of the colonists could have their rights taken away. This was simply intolerable as far as the Americans were concerned, that these Coercive Acts could apply to them as easily as they had applied to Massachusetts."

Historian Gordon S. Wood, 1996, in remarks about the meaning of the Parliament's passing the Coercive Acts in 1774

"I muse, I mope, I ruminate. What's about to happen is almost too big for my grasp. We don't have men fit for these times. We lack education, experience in the world, money, everything. I feel an unutterable anxiety. God grant us wisdom and strength in the coming months."

John Adams's view of the situation during the First Continental Congress, fall 1774

"I am discovering that this continent is a vast unwieldy machine. We are thirteen colonies—strangers—largely unacquainted with each other, now rushing together in one great mass. It's not surprising that we are jealous of each other's designs—fearful, timid, skittish."

John Adams analyzing the delegates at the congress and the colonies from which they came, fall 1774

"To his majesty King George III! . . . May the sword of the parent never be stained with the blood of his children."

Toast of loyalty to England and King George III by members of the First Continental Congress after their meetings in the fall of 1774

"If the rabble in Boston is committed to open rebellion, then the king's honor, and the safety of the empire, require that force be met with force. They are a disorganized mob which cannot present a very great opposition to our regular troops. Perhaps it is better to bring on a small conflict now, rather than later, when a rebellious spirit has had a chance to ripen."

King George III in January 1775 upon hearing the Continental Congress's decision for colonists to arm themselves

"The people here are ripe for revolt. I hear nothing but oaths against England and her friends. The king is cursed in public. Everywhere the talk is of raising men and of war. At dinner I had a long argument with Mr. Jackson about the cause of these troubles. I got the better of him, but I now realize that he was just trying to draw out my opinions. Now they all suspect me of being what they call a Tory spy. They watch my every move, and I'm threatened with tar and feathers, and the Devil knows what else."

Nicholas Cresswell, an English traveler, in assessing the situation in the colonies as they prepared to resist the Coercive Acts

"Even the women had rifles! The enthusiastic zeal with which those people have behaved must convince every reasonable man what a difficult and unpleasant task we have before us. Arms will never enforce obedience, and only God in His infinite mercy can restore peace to this country again."

Remarks by a Crown soldier after the return from Lexington and Concord, April 1775

"Certainly he had served in the military. His defeat at Fort Necessity began the French and Indian War for all practical purposes. He was there at Braddock's defeat, 1755. [But] he'd never commanded a successful operation of a major scale. He had military experience, yes, but it's a measure of how little successful large-scale military experience the Americans had, at least in terms of command, that he looked relatively qualified for this position."

Historian Pauline Maier's 1996 statement as to why Washington was likely chosen as General of the Continental army in May 1775

"The British charged up Bunker Hill really in defiance of their own military theory. As we know, their soldiers fought best on level surfaces, where they could maneuver into lines three deep and fire in volley. They never had that opportunity when they were charging up Bunker Hill. I have a feeling had they not been opposed by provincials whom they didn't respect, they never would have attempted that charge, which resulted in such terrible carnage during their first two efforts to ascend the hill."

Historian Don Higginbotham's 1996 statement describing the effort of the Crown army to capture Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill, 1775

"We have an excellent king. England is a generous, sensible, and humane nation, to whom we can bring our complaints. Artful men may be deceiving them, making them angry at us, but I cannot believe that they are cruel or unjust. Let us behave like dutiful children who have received undeserved blows from a beloved parent. Let us complain to our parent, but let our complaints speak in a language of affection and veneration."

John Dickinson during the Second Continental Congress, advocating that the colonists stop their resistance

"Well, the die is now cast. These New England governments are in a state of rebellion. Good. I am not sorry. The lines have been drawn. Now blows must decide whether they're to be our subjects or independent."

King George III's response to the news that the colonists were preparing to invade Canada, August 1775

"It's surprising, but nothing will clear up our situation so quickly, so efficiently, as an open and determined declaration for independence. Until this happens, we are like that man who puts off some unpleasant business day after day. He know it has to be done, he hates to start doing it, he wishes it were all over, and he's haunted by the fact that he knows he has no other choice. The blood of those already killed cries out for it. It is time to part."

Thomas Paine in Common Sense, *August 1775*

"We have it in our power to begin the world anew. It is the opportunity to bring forward a new system of government in which the rights of all men should be preserved, that gives value to independence. O ye that love mankind! Ye that dares oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! America shall make a stand, not for herself alone, but for the world."

Thomas Paine in Common Sense, *August 1775*

"I see my job as trying to bring together and harmonize a variety of different opinions. We are putting before all of mankind, in words that are both simple and firm, a justification for the stand that we're being forced to take."

Thomas Jefferson, commenting on how he perceived his task in writing the document that became known as the Declaration of Independence, July 1776

"Yesterday the greatest question which was ever debated in America was decided, a greater perhaps than ever was or will be decided among men. The second day of July 1776 ought to be commemorated by succeeding generations as the day of deliverance. It ought to be celebrated by pomp and parade, with shows and games, sports, bells, bonfires and illuminations from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward forever more."

Diary entry of John Adams, July 3, 1776

MODULE III:
THE TIMES THAT TRY MEN'S SOULS

UNIFYING CONCEPTS AND THEMES

invasion, strategy, sever, independence

KEY VOCABULARY

bayonet, grapeshot, catastrophe, standing army, volley, rout, fire-at-will, pardon, retreat, political ties, regulars, militia, victory

STUDENT LEARNING EXPECTATIONS

Module III concerns the efforts of the Continental Congress and General George Washington to wage war during the period from July 9, 1776, to early January 1777. At the end of this lesson, students should be able to:

- describe the reactions of people on both sides of this conflict to the news that the Continental Congress had declared independence from Britain.
- state at least one likely meaning of the phrase "the times that try men's souls" in the context of the resisting colonists' situation.
- state at least three reasons why the ministers in England might have sent a large military force to arrive in New York City in July 1776.
- state at least two reasons why General Howe shortly after his arrival failed in his negotiations to end the war under a flag of truce.
- state at least four characteristics of the Hessian soldiers.
- describe at least three opinions that members of the Crown army had of George Washington as a military leader.
- describe at least four major characteristics of typical soldiers in the Continental army in the fall of 1776.
- state Washington's primary goal for his army in the fall of 1776 and reasons why this was his primary goal.
- state several characteristics of battles during this era.
- describe the Battle for Long Island.
- state several requirements for conducting warfare in a gentlemanly manner according to military traditions at this time.
- describe the attitudes that the Crown regulars developed towards the colonial troops during the Battle of Long Island.
- define strategy and state at least three features of the new strategy Washington made up after the Battle for Long Island.
- state the important details of Washington's escape from defeat at the Battle for Long Island.
- describe the differences between the soldiers that Washington had at the Battle of Long Island and the soldiers that Washington wanted to have in the Continental army.
- describe the opinions of Crown officers of the American army as a result of the Battle of Long Island.
- state General Howe's goals when he landed his troops on the island and the events that happened that prevented him from achieving his goals.
- state General Washington's view of his primary job as commander of the Continental army following the Battle of Long Island.
- state at least three reasons why the members of the Continental army feared a standing army.
- state at least two advantages and two disadvantages of a standing army.
- state at least two actions that the Congress did not have the power to carry out under the existing government arrangement of the colonies in the fall of 1776.

- give reasons why armies during the 1700s tended to avoid fighting during the winter months.
- explain why some members of Congress in the fall of 1776 may not have been pleased with General Washington as commander in chief of the army.
- describe the steps that Washington took to capture Trenton.
- describe the reactions of people throughout the colonies to Washington's victory at Trenton.
- explain how it may be argued that, after his victory at Trenton, George Washington was the revolution.

SYNOPSIS: THE TIMES THAT TRY MEN'S SOULS

For a synopsis of the program, see Student Resource 3-B. You may wish to provide students with these sheets after viewing the video.

SYNOPSIS OF EACH CHAPTER

Chapter 1: News of Independence
(02:28-04:11)
Chapter length: 1 minute and 43 seconds

The opening scene features Washington's army in New York City on July 9, 1776 receiving news that the Continental Congress officially acted on July 2 to separate the colonies from the British Empire. In the eyes of the congress all political ties between the states and Britain were severed. The news of the decision for independence resulted in mixed reactions by people on both sides.

Chapter 2: The Invasion Force Arrives
(04:15-11:02)
Chapter length: 6 minutes and 47 seconds

At about the same time as Washington's army heard that the resolution for independence was approved, a combined Crown army and navy force arrived after a three-month absence from the colonies. This invasion force included 30 fully armed battleships, 30,000 soldiers (including 9,000 Hessians), 10,000 sailors and 1,200 cannons. This was the largest military invasion by the English until the twentieth century. The commanding officers were the Howe brothers, William and Richard. The king and Parliament wanted everyone to know that Britain was not going to give up. The Crown forces would not leave unless the colonists defeated them or proposed a reconciliation. The Crown forces tried to intimidate the colonial army into surrender and cause others to desert so that they could more easily defeat the rest. Washington's refusal to surrender or to discuss terms of peace and a pardon with General Howe left war as the only alternative.

Chapter 3: Two Different Armies
(11:04-16:52)
Chapter length: 5 minutes and 48 seconds

In the beginning, the leading Crown officers who had fought in North America during the Seven Years War (1756-1763) had a low opinion of the colonists as fighting men, either as individuals or in units. They had little respect for Washington because he had surrendered quickly in his first battle during that war. Washington also had little respect for the quality of men who served under him, calling them "dirty and nasty people" in contrast to the well-trained, highly disciplined soldiers and more gentlemanly officers of the Crown forces. Meanwhile Washington was very concerned that people viewed him as a person who was a gentlemen, a hero and a person who did what was proper. One factor was whether the colonists viewed themselves first as Virginians, New Yorkers and Massachusetts people or as Americans. In July 1776 they were more inclined to identify themselves with their colony than with an abstraction called America.

Chapter 4: The Battle for Long Island
(16:54-23:20)
Chapter length: 6 minutes and 26 seconds

A year passed since the April 19, 1775 conflict at Lexington and Concord and two battles at Breed's Hill north of Boston in July 1775. While these engagements cost lives, they were not yet viewed as part of a war. Until Washington's refusal to surrender to representatives of the British military in New York in mid-July 1776, most people believed that they could avoid a war. Left with no alternatives, the Howes knew that they must defeat the colonists on the battlefield. They wanted to do this quickly, decisively and with typical British efficiency. The Crown forces included 10,000 German soldiers, called Hessians, hired by Parliament from a German king for seven pounds per head.

The Battle of Long Island was the first full-scale military battle of the war. The colonists held their ground very well, much to the surprise of both sides. Eventually, an unguarded pathway pointed out by a Tory allowed the Crown army to encircle the colonists. The rout and the slaughter by bayonets of the colonial army was on. The Crown army cornered the colonial army and quit fighting in expectation of a surrender or the final battle the next morning.

Chapter 5: Washington Slips Away

(23:22-29:27)

Chapter length: 6 minutes and 05 seconds

Much to the surprise of the Howes, under cover of darkness, Washington ferried every soldier to the mainland. The colonists' retreat of 1776 had begun. Over several days his army was forced to retreat time and time again. Washington had difficulty getting his army organized and prepared to stand its ground. He realized that if he were to continue, then things would have to be different in the future.

Chapter 6: A Shift in Strategy

(29:29-35:14)

Chapter length: 5 minutes and 45 seconds

In retreating from Long Island and New York City, Washington was humiliated. The Continental Congress was upset and anxious. Independence could only be secured by war, and the army that existed had lost its battles in 1776 just like those lost at Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill in June 1775. To win the war, the colonial forces needed a well-disciplined and large standing army—any organization that most English citizens feared. Congress had to find a way to pull together men from all the colonies and discipline them so that they could fight in European fashion. They needed to transform small militia units into a cohesive fighting force. Methods employed to discipline soldiers in the Crown and Hessian armies did not work for the colonists. Until such an army was available, Washington had no choice but to avoid committing his army to a full scale battle and to rely on small hit-and-run skirmishes, sniping at the enemy, and quick retreats. The Crown army hated Washington's manner of waging the war but was forced to adjust its own activities to meet the demands of this new type of warfare. In three months the Crown forces captured or controlled eastern New York and entered New Jersey with very little opposition. They offered the colonists one more opportunity to surrender. Again the colonists refused.

Chapter 7: Washington Asks for a Permanent Army

(35:16-39:50)

Chapter length: 4 minutes and 34 seconds

Beginning in late fall, 1776 the Continental army disintegrated rapidly due to sickness and short, three-month enlistment terms. Most men signed up for short terms, and many went home as soon as their term of duty ended. At this time the soldiers received no pay and supplied much of their own food, clothing and ammunition. The Continental Congress was directly in charge of the army and funded it. However, the congress did not have the power to tax, so it could not get money for the army by direct taxation. Thus, it had to find ways to get the needed funds. But some members of congress did not want a strong, well-disciplined standing army because they feared that perhaps Washington or someone else might use it to seize control of one or more of the colonies, if not the congress itself. While Washington worried about keeping an army together, some began to doubt his competence as a leader and a general. In the year and a half since he had been appointed commander, he had not won a battle, had nearly lost the entire army on Long Island and spent the entire fall in retreat.

Chapter 8: All Is Quiet

(39:52-45:23)

Chapter length: 5 minutes and 31 seconds

By early December 1776, the Crown and Hessian troops settled down for the winter months. This was the custom in European warfare. One reason for doing so was that horses could not pull heavy wagons or guns in the snow and ice. A second reason was that it was always difficult to get large quantities of food to the draft animals, so movement would add to the difficulty. As December came to a close, the Crown generals were certain that they had gained the upper hand in the colonies. Many colonists had changed their minds and signed loyalty pledges to the Crown. The Crown had not lost a battle. They were certain that victory would come in the next year in the central colonies. They would also begin their strategy to take control of the New England colonies.

Chapter 9: Victory or Death

(45:25-51:31)

Chapter length: 6 minutes and 6 seconds

In mid-December, Washington knew that many of his soldiers were due to go home shortly before or after Christmas. To lift the spirits of the colonists, he decided to risk his entire army in one battle. He led his men across the Delaware River and surprised the Hessians at Trenton. He referred to this battle plan "Victory or death." The Hessian commander, Colonel Rall, did not read a message sent to warn him of the American attack on Christmas morning. The surprise complete, Trenton was taken along with 1,200 Hessian prisoners. Although in military terms this was a minor victory, it was a major psychological and propagandanistic victory for the colonists.

Chapter 10: The Tide Turns
(51:33-53:43)
Chapter length: 2 minutes and 10 seconds

The victory at Trenton was quickly followed up by a similar attack at Princeton. Although not very important in terms of military importance, victories at Trenton and Princeton changed the attitudes of people throughout the colonies. Perhaps one reason for this was that for people who did not know much about Breed's Hill, Long Island or New York City saw these two victories as being at least as important, if not as big, as the defeats. These victories raised hopes that perhaps the Crown forces could be defeated on the battlefield. For many reasons, men from all the colonies started signing up for the Continental army under Washington. These victories also changed opinions towards Washington. From Christmas Day, 1776, to the end of the war, he seemed to be able to do no wrong. He had become the hero he wanted to be.

CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

Teachers may select activities which are the most appropriate for their students.

SUGGESTED ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Refer to the GUIDE TO RESOURCES and consider one or more of the resources that would complement students' inquiries into this video and its content. The activities below may also be used.

- Ask students to read the Declaration of Independence and make a list of the reactions different colonists may have had when they heard that the Continental Congress voted for independence. Have them compare the likely reactions of those loyal to Britain with those who supported resistance to British rule.

- Ask students to study information about the traditional rules for conducting war during this era. Have them apply these rules to explain General Howe's actions during the Battle of Long Island. Can they determine the degree to which he followed them during the battle? How much did Washington adhere to them during this battle and at Trenton? How might the British commanders have reacted to Washington's failure to follow the rules? What were the implications for the British troops' future style of warfare?

- Have students study a map of the New York City area and Long Island. Ask them to make a list of the advantages and disadvantages that Washington faced in moving his army onto Long Island. How did the geography and topography play a role in this battle? Was Washington's strategy to move his troops onto the island sound? (i.e., was he lucky or savvy?) Explain.

- Ask students to investigate people's opinions of George Washington during the war. Have them distinguish between his strengths as a military leader and as a person. Then have them write a story about Washington the person or Washington the general. Or have them write a comparison or a contrast paper which critically analyzes these two aspects of Washington's persona. (e.g., They may want to consider how certain aspects of his personality bolstered or impeded his ability to lead troops and strategically plan missions.)

- Some people think that George Washington was the revolution personified. Have students critique the validity of this assertion by citing specific evidence from Washington's words and actions.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Below are questions for classroom discussion.

1. Shortly after he arrived in New York, General Howe failed to end the war under a flag of truce. What reasons can you give for his failure?

2. What are at least four characteristics of the Hessian soldiers during this war that made them useful to the British?

3. What did the members of the Crown army think of George Washington as a military leader?

4. Describe the typical soldiers in the Continental army in the fall of 1776.

5. What are the important details of Washington's escape from capture after the Battle for Long Island?

6. Why did members of the Continental Congress fear a standing army?

7. What are the advantages of having a standing army?

8. What characteristics did Washington seek in the army which he was to command?

9. What were at least two activities that the Continental Congress did not have the power to carry out under the existing government in the fall of 1776?

10. During the 1700s armies tended not to fight during the winter months. Explain why they tried to do so.

11. Give several reasons why some members of the Continental Congress were displeased with Washington as commander in chief of the army.

STUDENT RESOURCES

3-A. Questions to Focus Inquiry: The Times That Try Men's Souls

This exercise focuses students' attention on essential facts in these chapters of the video.

3-B. Content and Overview: The Times That Try Men's Souls

This activity provides contextual background for George Washington's situation when he was trying to construct a functioning army. He needed to train his men to fight in units against a well-disciplined enemy and keep his troops together after their initial defeat on Long Island in the summer of 1776. This information helps students construct a better sense of the perceptions, conditions and attitudes emphasized in the video.

3-C. Noteworthy Quotations: The Times That Try Men's Souls

This exercise provides a number of quotations illustrative of the various moods and feelings during the period from 1776 to 1777.

1

STUDENT RESOURCE 3-A

Questions to Focus Inquiry: The Times That Try Men's Souls

The questions below will focus your attention during the video. They will help you understand George Washington's actions and motives during the six months following the signing of the Declaration of Independence. They also focus on other issues that were important at this time.

1. Describe the impact of the Continental Congress's declaration of independence from Britain. How did it affect people on both sides of the conflict?

2. Why did the ministers in England send a large military force to New York City in July 1776?

3. What is the meaning of the phrase "the times that try men's souls"?

4. Explain several reasons why Thomas Paine's words about these times were appropriate for colonists at this moment of the war.

5. What are at least three differences between the soldiers that Washington had at the Battle of Long Island and those that he wanted in the Continental army?

6. Following the Battle of Long Island, what did Washington view as his primary job as commander of the Continental army?

7. Give several reasons why members of the Continental Congress feared a standing army.

8. What were some of the colonists' reactions to Washington's victory at Trenton?

STUDENT RESOURCE 3-B

Context and Overview: The Times That Try Men's Souls

The description below is an overview of the video entitled The Times That Try Men's Souls. *It follows the story in the video, but expands the context and focuses of the general moods and attitudes of the men and women involved in these events.*

Until passage of the resolution on July 2, 1776, declaring the colonies to be free and independent from the rule of England, nearly every colonist still considered themselves British citizens. The vast majority still expected some agreement to be reached and that the problems in recent years would be resolved, forgiven and forgotten. However, the news of the declaration of independence changed many people's minds. King George III, nearly all members of Parliament and nearly all the generals in the Crown army thought the notion that the colonies could consider themselves independent was something foolish and amusing. Meanwhile, among the colonists, the news lead them to think of themselves as Americans who were now fighting as Americans, not as rebels. Yet most still viewed their efforts as being in defense of the particular colonies where they lived rather than the United Colonies. It was up to General George Washington to build an army while he was fighting a war against the most powerful army and navy in the world.

On July 9, 1776, General George Washington's troops heard the news that the Continental Congress had just voted to make the colonies independent of Britain. At this same time a massive Crown army and naval force arrived off the coast of New York City. This invasion force included 30 fully armed battleships, 30,000 soldiers (including 9,000 Hessians), 10,000 sailors and 1,200 cannons. This was the largest military invasion by the English until the twentieth century. The size of this force made it clear that Parliament and King George were not going to give up the colonies. If the colonies wanted to govern themselves, they would have to defeat the army and navy considered to be the world's best. They also hoped that the size of the force in and of itself might frighten enough colonists so that they would want to end the conflict with no further fighting. The Crown forces' first acts were designed to intimidate the colonial army into surrendering. If the colonial army did not surrender, the Crown hoped that many Continental soldiers would desert so that those who remained would be easier to defeat in battle.

Washington moved his army from outside of Boston to New York City because spies had told him where the Crown generals were heading. They had decided that the New England area was too difficult to capture and put under direct authority of the royal government. New York, moreover, was more centrally located. The communities outside of New York City were seen as being friendlier to the Crown. In addition, the Crown could send troops more quickly along the inland rivers from New York City. To stop the Crown forces, the Continental Congress insisted that Washington do whatever was needed to prevent the capture of New York City. Washington obeyed their orders.

The city itself was indefensible. There was no practical way to defend it, especially when Washington had no navy and the Crown had thirty heavy warships and many light warships floating a short distance offshore. Washington's army was outnumbered almost four to one. It was not trained or even ready for a full-scale battle. Yet he prepared to stop the Crown troops from taking the city. Washington moved almost his entire army to fight the Crown troops on Long Island. If his troops could not stop the Crown army, it would have been destroyed or forced to surrender. If either event occurred, the colonists would have had to form another army under a new general. Even worse, such a defeat might lead many colonists to demand an end to the war. As a result, the vote for independence would have been of no value.

There was a two-month delay in movement by the Crown forces as they unloaded all their supplies and prepared for action. During this time, leaders and soldiers on both sides re-evaluated their opponents. The Crown leaders, General William Howe and Admiral Richard Howe did not consider Washington to be a general or even capable of leading his troops. They remembered his days in the military during the French and Indian War. In addition, they had little respect for an ill-trained citizen army hastily assembled and without sufficient equipment or supplies. The Howes hoped for one massive attack that would destroy the Continental army and Washington. This seemed likely because they could not escape the island surrounded by Crown ships.

The battle began. The Crown troops had some difficulty advancing against the Continental army. Then 10,000 Crown troops followed an unguarded path and came up behind the Continentals. The Continental soldiers were almost surrounded. They could not hold their lines. They ran for their lives. Crown and Hessian troops slaughtered them. They crossed a swamp and reached a safe place along the shore line. They were cornered. Yet just at the moment when the Crown soldiers could attack these last survivors, General Howe ordered a stop to their advance. The battle was won. He wanted to end the bloodshed. Given the tradition of warfare at the time, he expected Washington to surrender the next morning.

But during the night, under cover of fog, Washington evacuated Long Island by small boats and rafts. He ordered large bonfires burned to give the impression that his entire army was still in camp. In the early morning, the Crown troops found no one in camp. Washington's escape plan was successful.

General Howe ordered the occupation of the rest of New York City. His soldiers had little difficulty in defeating the Continental army and local militia groups they faced. The Continental army retreated and retreated. The retreat was organized less often than not. The Crown troops showed little mercy towards their enemies. In the meantime, the Howes found that most New Yorkers were strongly loyal to the Crown. They were warmly welcomed by the citizens of the city. Many in the city saw themselves saved from rebels' rule. New York City became the primary headquarters of the Crown military operations for the rest of the war. General Howe then ordered his troops to follow after Washington's forces and to capture key fortified colonial positions outside the city. His troops aided by the Hessians accomplished these missions with little trouble. Everywhere the colonists lost. And they retreated further and further from the city.

With this series of defeats, Washington realized that he needed a permanent army—an army with men who would stay and fight for a year or more. He could not defeat the Crown forces with an army of volunteers who came and went much as they pleased. He asked congress for a permanent army. Reluctantly, the members of congress approved it. They feared that a permanent standing army made up of long-term soldiers might turn against the civilian government. They feared that, in the wrong hands, the army would support their generals rather than the congress. Under some men, this might have happened. But Washington had no ambitions to be leader of an army against congress. In fact, over the next five years of the war, he resisted every opportunity to increase his power. His concern was to have an army of men whom he could train to be as skilled as those in the Crown forces. In time he would have such an army.

By early December 1776, less than five months since the Howes arrived off the coast of New York City, the Crown controlled all of New Jersey and much of New York, including the city. The colonists had not come close to winning a battle and continued to retreat. They stopped retreating only when the Crown troops quit advancing. It appeared they had no way of defeating, much less halting, their opponents. Then, as was customary in European warfare, the Crown forces settled down for the winter. They would get a long rest and wait until spring before continuing their advance. It seemed but a matter of time—a short time—before the war was over. They also assured themselves of their abilities to defeat the colonists.

The defeats left many colonists wanting peace. Surely if their commanding general and the colonists' largest army could not stop the advancing troops, there was no use in continuing the war. They wanted peace under the best terms possible as soon as possible. Yet the Continental Congress and Washington would not seek peace. Part of their reason for doing so was their commitment to the colonial cause. Another factor was the uncertainty as to what would happen to them, their families and property if they were to surrender. Already labeled as traitors and rebels, they knew all too well what the British did to traitors.

In the midst of this period of despair and defeat, Thomas Paine wrote a new essay. In *The American Crisis*, he declared, "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country." He went on to encourage people to continue their efforts and said that they would surely win to save their liberty and defeat the tyrants. His words inspired hundreds of thousands to continue the war effort and many thousands to join the Continental army. Washington ordered it read to all of his troops.

Washington knew he needed to change the emotional dispositions of his army and perhaps the colonists as well. He wanted to win at least one battle to give the colonists hope. It also might help many colonists to spend their winters talking about the colonial victory rather than all their defeats and retreats. More importantly, Washington knew that the terms of many of his men would end on December 31, and he did not know how many men he would have left after that date. If he was going to win a battle, it had to be before that date.

On Christmas Eve, 1776, Washington joined 2,500 of his men in a crossing of the Delaware River. That evening they surprised the Hessians at Trenton. They won the battle and took 1,000 Hessians prisoner. Shortly afterwards, they captured Princeton. The year ended with two victories for the colonists. While these were not major victories, they gave the colonists hope. Many colonists who earlier that fall had signed loyalty pledges to the Crown changed their minds. Volunteers from all thirteen colonies suddenly began to arrive in Washington's camp. From this point on, Washington seemed unable to do anything wrong.

77

Meanwhile, the British leaders were not alarmed by these minor defeats. Given that they had captured all of New Jersey and part of New York, the capture of two small forces in New Jersey was not a major concern for them. They spent the winter in New York City very confident that the next spring would bring certain victory over Washington's army. With this victory, surely the colonists would give up their opposition to the Crown and Parliament.

QUESTIONS:

1. The news of the decision to be independent of Britain was read to the men in Washington's army on July 9, 1776. Describe at least four of their reactions to this news.

2. The Crown sent a massive force to New York City in July 1776. What did the Crown hope to accomplish with this large force?

3. What reasons might Washington have given for choosing Long Island as the place to stop the Crown forces from capturing New York City?

4. General Howe was used to fighting battles and wars according to traditions established in previous European wars. What were two situations where following these traditions cost his Crown forces victories?

5. What were at least positive three effects Thomas Paine's essay *The American Crisis* had on the colonists in continuing the struggle?

6. What are at least three reasons Washington had for trying to capture Trenton before the end of December 1776?

7. What effects did Washington's victories at Trenton and Princeton have on the colonists' attitudes and actions?

STUDENT RESOURCE 3-C

Noteworthy Quotations: The Times That Try Men's Souls

This exercise provides quotations illustrative of the various moods and feelings during the period from July 1776 to February 1777. You should be able to interpret each quotation in the context of the person and situation within which the words were stated.

"We have no resources, our army is in shambles, we have little hope of help from foreign powers, and now we are faced with the prodigious powers and resources of our enemy. . . . In spite of all this they signed, they signed! The bravery of those delegates!"

Dr. James Thatcher, colonist, July 1776

"We heard that [the Continental] Congress has announced that the colonies are to be independent states. The madness of these deluded people!"

Ambrose Serle, secretary to Admiral Howe of the Royal Navy, July 1776

"[Washington is] an honest man, no vices, except, of course, ambition. He's not well educated, he doesn't speak very well, but there is something about him that makes people close to him very loyal. Look at how he has managed to hold together all those stubborn, headstrong groups he has to work with!"

Nicolas Cresswell, a traveler from England in the colonies during the war

"They put me in this regiment, half New Englanders and half Pennsylvanians. Folks as different as night and day. Myself, I'd rather be fighting with a tribe of Indians than with these Southerners. They're foreigners, can't hardly speak English. They don't like me either. They call me 'that damn Yankee.'"

Joseph Martin, fifteen-year-old Connecticut farm boy and enlistee in Washington's army, 1776.

"You can't imagine the joy of the [New York] city's inhabitants when we march in. . . . They carry the king's officers on their shoulders. A woman . . . pulls down their [the rebels'] hated flag and stamps on it with contempt and indignation."

Ambrose Serle, secretary to Admiral Howe, on entering New York City, July 1776

"Remember, soldiers, you are free men, fighting for the blessings of liberty. Remember that you and your descendants will become slaves if you don't acquit yourselves like men. Remember Boston and Charlestown. The enemy discovered at great cost what a few brave men fighting for their own land, for the best of causes, could do against soldiers for hire."

General George Washington, shortly after the Battle of Long Island, July 1776

"If I quit, all will be lost. In confidence, I tell you that I have never been in such an unhappy, divided state since I was born."

General George Washington, shortly after the British captured Fort Washington, September 1776

"Those volunteers from the southern colonies—Virginia, Maryland—they're no more fighters than the Yankees. Their army is all broken in pieces, and the spirit of their leaders is broken also. We will be headed for Philadelphia. I expect on no opposition at all. I think we can safely conclude that it is just about over for them."

Lord Francis Rawdon, British officer with General Howe, fall 1777

"You can't expect to get good soldiers to defend our inalienable rights when fighting for them [these rights] will bankrupt themselves and their family."

General George Washington on problems faced by lack of pay and supplies for his army, fall 1777

MODULE IV: OH, FATAL AMBITION

UNIFYING CONCEPTS AND THEMES

invasion, ambition, hero, campaign, surrender

KEY VOCABULARY

ambassador, revenge, rivalry, confederacy, harassment, rabble, camp followers, hollow victory, massacre, smallpox, surrender, alliance, ally

STUDENT LEARNING EXPECTATIONS

Episode IV concerns the efforts of the Continental Congress and Benjamin Franklin to form an alliance with France against Britain. It also stresses the northern campaign of John Burgoyne in the attempt to divide the colonies. This episode includes the period from December 1776 to Burgoyne's surrender outside Saratoga, New York on October 19, 1777. At the end of this lesson, students should be able to:

- state the two primary reasons why Benjamin Franklin was sent to France in December 1776.
- describe the feelings that the French and English felt towards one another at the beginning of the colonists' war for independence.
- state the reasons why in December 1776 France was reluctant to provide public support and a treaty of alliance with the United States.
- state the major reasons why the Crown wanted to control the Hudson-Champlain-Richelieu corridor in northern New York.
- describe at least two serious flaws in Burgoyne's master plan to split the colonies.
- state the primary reason why King George III would have exclaimed "I have beat them" when he received news of the recapture of Ft. Ticonderoga.
- describe at least five of Franklin's features that made him so attractive to the French.
- state the effects of the long-standing tradition of having camp followers accompany an army's progress and speed of movement, and consider their impact of Burgoyne's army in particular.
- state the primary reasons why the Indians in this region of New York would have preferred to ally themselves with Britain rather than the colonists.
- state the major reactions of the Crown and Hessian soldiers to the topography and vegetation of northern New York.
- describe at least three major affects the geographic terrain and vegetation of northern New York had on the movement of Crown and Hessian soldiers.
- state the major points in Burgoyne's early appeals and announcements to the inhabitants of New York and New England.
- state the differences in the major points made in Burgoyne's early and late appeals and announcements to the inhabitants of New York and New England.
- describe the effects that all of his appeals had on the actions and attitudes of the colonists.
- state four of the characteristics of the Indians that terrified the colonists.
- describe how the story of Jane McCrea was used by the colonial propagandists to deepen and widen resistance to the Crown and to Burgoyne's army.
- describe the steps the colonists took to slow Burgoyne's progress through the forests of New York.
- describe the effects on the colonists of the smallpox carried by Burgoyne's army.
- describe at least eight factors that contributed significantly to the slow progress Burgoyne made through northern New York.

- state at least two reasons the Indians likely would have used to justify their desertion from Burgoyne's army.
- describe the specific contributions that Benedict Arnold made to defeating Burgoyne's army.
- determine the extent that Benedict Arnold could be legitimately labeled a hero for his efforts against Burgoyne.
- describe Burgoyne's opinions of the colonial militia and army once they had assembled into a large fighting force.
- describe how General Howe's move into Philadelphia affected the chances of Burgoyne achieving success.
- describe the effects of Burgoyne's surrender on the French king's thinking about declaring war on Britain and signing an alliance with the United States.
- describe the reactions of the British government to the news that the French and United States had signed an alliance against Britain.

SYNOPSIS: OH, FATAL AMBITION

For a synopsis of the program, see Student Resource 4-B. You may with to provide students with these sheets after viewing the video,

SYNOPSIS OF EACH CHAPTER

Chapter 1: Benjamin Franklin Arrives in France
(02:31–05:51)

Chapter length: 3 minutes and 20 seconds

On December 23, 1776, Franklin arrived as the first United States ambassador to France on a secret mission to get King Louis XVI to expand French aid to the side of the United States. More importantly, Franklin was to increase the amount of unofficial aid in the form of money and military supplies and to obtain an official declaration of war by France against England. It was no secret that France was seeking revenge against England after her defeat in the Seven Years War (1756–1763). English spies reported to King George III and Parliament that Franklin was in France to entice the French into the war effort. However, Louis XVI was not anxious to enter the war, especially on the side whose army was soundly defeated by Crown forces on Long Island and did nothing but retreat throughout the fall of 1776.

Chapter 2: Gentleman Johnny
(05:54–08:52)

Chapter length: 2 minutes and 58 seconds

The officer selected to lead one of the massive movements against the colonists was General John Burgoyne. Burgoyne was dashing, pompous, self-assured, charming, cocky and a person who viewed himself as larger than life. He worked hard behind the scenes to be appointed to lead this army in the campaign to split the Northern colonies. He stated that "the mob of undisciplined provincials won't have a chance against . . . [my men]. I have instructed them to count on the bayonet." He left New York City sensing an easy victory over any colonies who dared face him.

Chapter 3: The Northern Strategy
(08:54–12:32)

Chapter length: 3 minutes and 38 seconds

The Crown generals lead by General Howe decided that the power and control of the resisters in the Northern colonies were very strong. But they mistakenly assumed there was strong support for the Crown in the southern colonies. He planned to cut the colonies in half, sever communications among the colonies and then turn inward to crush the rebels in the North. To accomplish this division, his plan called for General John Burgoyne to move southward from northern New York to meet an army coming up from the Hudson River via Albany.

To help his army of 7,000 men, Burgoyne convinced some of the local Native American communities making up the Iroquois Confederacy to join the side of the Crown rather than that of the colonists. The six tribes of the Confederacy could not agree on who to support. Within weeks, the centuries-old Iroquois Confederacy was broken up as the tribes made their individual choices about their alliances. Even today, the bitterness caused by the choice between Crown or colonist still has not been forgotten or forgiven among descendants of the tribes.

On June 25, 1777, Burgoyne's army made its way south. However, Burgoyne made rapid progress in the first few weeks. He easily captured the seemingly uncapturable Ft. Ticonderoga without a fight. News of his early and easy victories reached England. King George and his ministers believed a victory over the rebels was only weeks or months away. Burgoyne, a very ambitious politician and general, was acclaimed for his victories. Meanwhile, Howe, who was in New York City, decided to capture Philadelphia without consulting Burgoyne.

Chapter 4: Franklin the Charmer

(12:36–15:07)

Chapter length: 2 minutes and 31 seconds

For more than six months after arriving in France, Louis XVI still refused to accept Franklin as an ambassador, especially as an ambassador to the newly formed United States of America. Franklin, however, had been busy. He found ways to gain friends and supporters among many intellectuals, merchants and members of the French aristocracy. Each group had its own reasons for supporting the colonists' cause. All shared a hatred of England and supported any efforts that were certain to defeat England. They also knew that with England's attention focused on the colonies, it would hardly be able to defeat both the colonists and the French, especially if Spain were to enter on the side of the French and the colonists. What France waited for was proof that the colonists could hold their own against the Crown forces. Franklin needed colonists' success on the battlefield in order to get France involved in the war. The message from King Louis was quite clear: no United States victory on the battlefield, no declaration of war by France. Needless to say, the news of the capture of Ft. Ticonderoga by Burgoyne was not what Franklin wanted to hear. But Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga on October 17, 1777, just three months after his capture of Ft. Ticonderoga, was the news that convinced the French king to officially declare war on England. This declaration shifted England's entire war effort and provided the French army and navy that would eventually surround General Cornwallis at Yorktown in October, 1781.

Chapter 5: Burgoyne Continues His Way South

(15:09–23:58)

Chapter length: 8 minutes and 49 seconds

Besides the 7,000 men in his army, over 2,000 camp followers traveled with Burgoyne. Some served as support staff for the army in the form of cooks, laundresses and nurses, and others accompanied their husbands and fathers. In addition, Burgoyne brought thirty wagon-loads of his personal possessions. The supply wagons alone for this expedition was over one mile long. This large a group could easily have moved somewhat rapidly across the open fields of Europe, but no such speed was possible in the densely forested region of New York. After traveling down Lake George as far south as he thought necessary, Burgoyne ordered his men ashore.

The rest of the way had to be hacked out tree by tree in the densest forest his troops had ever encountered. The geography and forests were challenging enough, but Burgoyne's personality, the size of his army and camp followers, the number of wagons and the need for food for his men and animals increased their difficulties. In addition, Burgoyne had to face General Horatio Gates, Benedict Arnold, the recently created northern army of the United States and thousands of colonial militiamen who came out for short periods of time to harass, delay and fire upon Burgoyne's army.

Also accompanying Burgoyne were almost 400 Indians. The Indians preferred to fight for the British because they felt threatened by the colonists. They feared the colonists' desire to expand into their territories once the war was over, but they believed the British would help protect their ownership of the lands. The problem was that the Indians and British had different fighting styles.

Meanwhile, General Howe decided to set sail for Philadelphia—not Albany, the place where he was to meet up with Burgoyne. Burgoyne was not aware of this move. He expected all along to meet Howe's army in or outside of Albany. Burgoyne found out too late that Howe had changed his plans.

Chapter 6: Burgoyne Talks Too Much

(24:00–27:57)

Chapter length: 3 minutes and 57 seconds

As Burgoyne moved south, he sent ahead announcements designed to get support from the colonists. He said this was a "crusade" to restore "the blessings of legal government" in which he invited the colonies to join him. He also said civilians would not be bothered if they remained quietly in their homes and allowed the army to forage for its animals. The local colonists were horrified.

Burgoyne's Indian allies were to be the scouts of the invading forces. But soon after he began his march, Burgoyne made it clear that his Indian helpers would be used to obtain the supplies his army needed. Their way of fighting scared the colonists. Many colonists who might not have entered the war at all joined to defeat Burgoyne primarily because he had Indians with him. Their fear and anger increased when the Indians murdered Jane McCrea during one of their raiding parties. The colonial propagandists used McCrea's death to their advantage, and soon all the colonies heard of her bravery, the savagery of the Indians and the evil of the British for using the Indians against defenseless women and children.

Chapter 7: Supplies Get Shorter

(27:56–31:55)

Chapter length: 3 minutes and 59 seconds

The colonists reacted to Burgoyne's advance by doing everything they could to delay him. They cut down trees in front of him, attacked his supply wagons behind him and shot at his soldiers as they marched. They knew the land and used their knowledge to their advantage. Each mile that Burgoyne moved separated him from his supply camp in upper New York. The delay in his advance meant that his men and animals were eating more than what he had planned. Supplies became scarce. Burgoyne spent more time each day worrying about supplies. Desperate for food for his animals and men, he sent out soldiers into the countryside. They seized whatever they could find, injured the population, invaded homes and farmlands. Their actions only increased the opposition against them. Thus hundreds of men from the New England colonies arrived to stop Burgoyne.

The people feared the British army for many reasons, not the least of which was the diseases that armies often brought with them. In this case, the worst was smallpox, which spread rapidly throughout the region. Thousands of colonists got smallpox, and many died a horrible death.

Chapter 8: Time Is Slipping Away
(31:57–37:07)
Chapter length: 5 minutes and 10 seconds

On August 1, 1777, Burgoyne's troops finally arrived at Ft. Edwards. The last twenty-three miles of the march took one month. With supplies in short supply, the general realized that time was slipping away and he would be late reaching Albany. He sent some soldiers to Bennington, Vermont, to get fresh horses from colonists whom he had heard were loyalists. His troops were supposed to appeal to the Loyalists and help persuade the colonists to remain loyal to Britain. In a surprising decision, the men selected for this mission were Hessians, who could not speak English. In a trap, all the Hessians were either killed or captured.

Burgoyne had miscalculated. Not only were most colonists hostile to the British cause, but they were also armed. This was an unlikely situation in England or any European nation. He did not expect that nearly every household in the region had at least one gun and a person who knew how to fire it. The failure of the Hessian attempt to get supplies alerted Burgoyne that he could get almost nothing from the colonists. He was alone and had to fight with what supplies he had.

Chapter 9: The Americans Assemble
(37:09–40:52)
Chapter length: 3 minutes and 43 seconds

Outside of Albany, the colonists gathered to block Burgoyne's path. They came by the hundred from local militias throughout the region included several adjoining colonies and assembled under the command of General Horatio Gates. Burgoyne moved toward Saratoga, just twenty miles from Albany confident he could make it there. Then his Indian scouts deserted his army. Unable to get reliable information on his enemy, he did not know that over 7,000 men already were waiting in front of him.

Chapter 10: Burgoyne's Last Month
(40:53–50:35)
Chapter length: 9 minutes and 42 seconds

. On September 19, 1777, Burgoyne, facing Gates's army of over 10,000 men, moved his army into a clearing at Freeman's Farm along the only road to Albany—and safety. In a flagrant breach of military etiquette, Gates's men opened fire, many aiming deliberately at the officers. Burgoyne retreated. On October 5, he considered his options. Against the advice of his fellow officers to withdraw across the Hudson River and with the knowledge that Gates's army outnumbered his, Burgoyne ordered a march toward Albany. On October 7, another battle near Freeman's Farm was fought. In the confrontation known as Bemis Heights, Burgoyne's army almost turned the tide of the battle. However, Benedict Arnold, known to his men as the most brilliant and fearless general in the Continental army, led a counterattack that forced Burgoyne to retreat. Arnold's presence and performance so inspired his men that his image as a hero to the whole Continental army was enhanced. Burgoyne was surprised by the size and discipline of the army he faced. To harass his army, the colonists fired cannons and rifles throughout every night and shot men on the guards.

Chapter 11: Burgoyne Surrenders
(50:36–53:54)
Chapter length: 3 minutes and 18 seconds

Burgoyne, with his army almost surrounded and no hope of being saved by Howe's army, surrendered on October 17, 1777. General Cornwallis personally handed his sword to Gates, who immediately returned it. A British officer later wrote that he felt like he was looking at a new race of men.

News of the surrender reached Paris. Although Franklin was deeply disappointed by the news that General Howe had taken Philadelphia, the news of Burgoyne's surrender was what he sought. He would now be in a position to convince the French king to join the war effort. France would now declare war on Britain, which was now faced with a world war. This forced Britain to turn her attention to places other than the thirteen American colonies.

CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

Teachers may select activities which are the most appropriate for their students.

SUGGESTED ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Refer to the GUIDE TO RESOURCES and consider one or more of the resources that would complement students' inquiry into this video and its content. The activities below may also be used.

- Ask students to read Benjamin Franklin's autobiography or a biography of Franklin. Have them list his admirable and less-than-admirable qualities. Ask them which were useful and which harmful to the colonists' cause. Then have them find remarks that signal Franklin's change in allegiance from Parliament and the king to the colonies. Or have them write an explanatory essay which highlights his greatest accomplishments. They will need to define what they mean by a significant accomplishment (e.g., the feat and its context). They should consider his contributions to the resistance in the colonies prior to July 1776, his efforts in Paris to gain French aid, and his work after the war to form a new government.

- Have students read Kenneth Roberts's *Oliver Wiswell,* which contains a unique description of Franklin particularly while he was in France. They may want to list what Wiswell observed Franklin doing and his opinions of Franklin. They can also assess the merits and demerits of Franklin's actions for the colonial cause. Have them write a comparison or contrast paper which assesses Franklin's actions from a colonial and from a British point of view.

- Ask students to describe the qualities characteristic of a major military campaign such as the one General John Burgoyne led. What were the duties of the general and of the camp followers? What were the advantages and disadvantages of having camp followers accompany an army? Have them write a cause-and-effect essay on the camp followers' journey to Albany with Burgoyne's army.

- Have students investigate the heroism of Benedict Arnold. Ask them to write a definition paper. First, they will need to define a hero in the context of this war. Then they need to determine whether Arnold fits their definition of a hero. They may want to list the likely reasons why he decided to turn against the American war effort. They may also need to construct their own definition of the term traitor. Or have them write a story on what they would have done if they were Arnold in 1780.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Below are questions for classroom discussion.

1. Describe the French people's feeling towards the British in 1776. Explain the rationale for their opinions.

2. Why did the Crown want to control the Hudson-Champlain-Richelieu corridor in northern New York?

3. What were two serious flaws in Burgoyne's master plan to split the colonies?

4. In European armies there was a long-standing tradition of having dependents accompany an army. What specific effects did having these camp followers have on the progress and speed of Burgoyne's army?

5. Why did some Indians in New York prefer to ally themselves with the English rather than with the colonists?

6. What were at least three major effects of the terrain and vegetation of northern New York on the movement of the Crown and Hessian soldiers?

7. Explain the major differences in Burgoyne's early and late appeals to the inhabitants of New York and New England? What were the effects of his appeals?

8. Describe several Indians' characteristics which terrified the colonists.

9. How did colonial propagandists use the story of Jane McCrea to deepen and widen the resistance to the Crown and Burgoyne's army?

10. How did the colonists slow Burgoyne's progress through the forests of New York?

11. How did General Howe's move to Philadelphia affect the chances of Burgoyne achieving success?

12. What were the reactions of the British government to the news that France and the United States had signed an alliance against Britain?

STUDENT RESOURCES

4-A. Questions to Focus Inquiry: Oh, Fatal Ambition

This exercise focuses students' attention on essential facts in these chapters of the video.

4-B. Content and Overview: Oh, Fatal Ambition

This activity provides contextual background for General Burgoyne's campaign and subsequent defeat. This information helps students construct a better sense of the perceptions, conditions and attitudes emphasized in the video.

4-C. Noteworthy Quotations: Oh, Fatal Ambition

This exercise provides a number of quotations illustrative of the various moods and feelings during the period from December 1776 to October 1777.

STUDENT RESOURCE 4-A

Questions to Focus Inquiry: Oh, Fatal Ambition

The questions below will focus your attention during the video. They will help you understand George Washington's actions and motives during the six months following the signing of the Declaration of Independence. They also focus on other issues that were important at this time.

QUESTIONS:

1. What were the two primary reasons that Benjamin Franklin was sent to France in December 1776?

2. Name several of Franklin's qualities that made him attractive to the French.

3. Why was France in December of 1776 reluctant to provide public support to the United States and enter a treaty of alliance with it?

4. Explain several of the major factors which contributed significantly to the slow progress of Burgoyne's army through northern New York.

5. Before he turned traitor, Benedict Arnold contributed greatly to the defeat of Crown forces in the North. What specific contributions did he make in the defeat of Burgoyne's army?

6. Could Benedict Arnold be labeled an American hero? Why or why not? Justify your arguments with specific evidence.

7. From 1776, the French king and his ministers considered signing an alliance with the United States. How might Burgoyne's surrender have influenced the their decision to form an alliance?

STUDENT RESOURCE 4-B

Context and Overview: Oh, Fatal Ambition

The description below is an overview of the video entitled Oh, Fatal Ambition. *It follows the story in video, but expands the context and focuses of the general moods and attitudes of the men and women involved in these events.*

In December 1776, the Declaration of Independence was six months old. Twenty thousand Crown troops occupied New York, most of whom were stationed in or just outside New York City. Thousands more were on their way. The Crown army was ready to move inland to capture Philadelphia, the headquarters of the Continental Congress. Given the easy defeat and near destruction of Washington's army on Long Island, Crown officials and military leaders were certain that the massive army would bring a quick end to the rebellion in early 1777. The idea of the colonies declaring independence was viewed by the vast majority of people in England and by a large portion of the population in the colonies as being folly. These people still believed the colonies were part of the empire and that the troops were being sent to put down an internal rebellion, not fighting a war. In this environment, the Continental Congress sent Benjamin Franklin and others to Paris. The legislators knew they needed an ally, one powerful enough to force Britain to shift her war efforts outside the colonies. Franklin was to use his charm and intelligence to persuade King Louis XVI to declare war on Britain. Franklin knew that he would not be successful until the colonists showed they could stand up on their own and defeat the British. Except for the small successes at Trenton and Princeton, he had only American defeats and retreats.

During his stay in Paris, Franklin often found himself the center of attention. He used his charm, brilliance, cleverness and wit to become a celebrity. Soon French homes had pictures of Franklin and other objects with his name or likeness were everywhere. He symbolized a new way of looking at things. He had the king of France and his people in his hands. He could not find, however, a way to get open French support without a victory on the battlefield.

In June 1777, the Crown forces launched another invasion. This time the plan was to split the New England colonies from New York. One part of the army would move from northern New York southward to Albany. Meanwhile, the other part would move with naval support up the Hudson River. The two armies were supposed to meet near Albany. On the drawing board, the plan should have worked. General William Howe led the north division heading south, and General John Burgoyne, a very ambitious soldier, commanded the troops that headed south. He was a well-known and successful playwright, charming man and highly interested in furthering his military career. He had a very low opinion of the colonists who took up arms against Crown forces.

Burgoyne began his march with the expectation he would meet General Howe in Albany within two or three months. His invasion began with numerous small victories. He captured the seemly uncapturable Ft. Ticonderoga without firing a shot. But gradually the colonists increased their efforts to delay his advance. They cut down trees in his way, tore down bridges, and harassed his supply lines. Burgoyne did not expect the route to be covered with dense forests and underbrush. He soon found that the march would not occur as quickly as he had hoped.

Nonetheless, Burgoyne was able to obtain the help of over 400 Indians who favored the British over the colonists. These Indians were the eyes, ears and scouts of his army. They explored the route ahead and brought back information about the colonists. However, their presence in the British army led many colonists to take up arms against this invasion force. The Indians engaged in activities that scared more and more colonists. The British were said to have hired the Indians to massacre defenseless women and children. Their murder of Jane McCrea was used by colonial propagandists throughout the colonies. In a short period of time, the Indians became as much a handicap as a benefit to Burgoyne.

Over the next few weeks, Burgoyne's progress was slow. Neither the British nor Hessian troops had ever faced such harsh conditions. The humidity, thunderstorms, hilly terrain covered with dense growth, and snakes and the insects all were cursed by the army. In addition, it was accompanied by over 2,000 camp followers. These people, the cooks, nurses and wives and children of the soldiers, were traditional parts of a European military campaign. They were along to help the soldiers and keep their spirits up. Yet the camp followers also needed to be fed and sheltered. Their presence significantly added to the problems of supplies. From the beginning of this march, Burgoyne's supply line was almost as long as his army. For several weeks he averaged less than a mile a day. Meanwhile colonists from New York and surrounding colonies marched towards Albany to defend the city. They wanted Burgoyne stopped before he received reinforcements from General Howe. From August into October, Burgoyne felt the effects of fewer and fewer supplies. His men and animals became more desperate. He was hoping for supplies from General Howe coming up from Albany, but he did not know that weeks earlier Howe had abandoned the plan to meet in Albany. Instead, Howe, unaware of Burgoyne's needs, had sailed to capture Philadelphia.

In order to get supplies, Burgoyne sent out Indians and Hessians. The Indians eventually created more problems for him. They murdered Jane McCrea, a white colonist, which scared the entire New England population. The propagandists in all thirteen colonies reported on this murder. The British, they said, ordered the Indians to loot, rape and kill defenseless women and children.

Meanwhile, the Hessians ran into a colonist trap. All 700 who were sent out for food for the animals were either killed or captured. Burgoyne sensed that he could not retreat. He did not know that Howe had decided not to met him, and he did not feel he could retreat. He felt he had but one chance: he would move forward quickly and take Albany, less than twenty miles ahead.

On September 19, 1777, Burgoyne, now facing General Horatio Gates's colonial army of over 10,000 men, moved his army into a clearing at Freeman's Farm along the only road to Albany. Gates's men opened fire, many aiming deliberately at the officers; a flagrant breach of military etiquette. Burgoyne retreated. On October 5, he considered his options. He knew that he was outnumbered by Gates's army. But, against the advice of his fellow officers to withdraw across the Hudson River, Burgoyne ordered a march toward Albany. On October 7, another battle near Freeman's Farm was fought. In the battle known as Bemis Heights, Benedict Arnold, known to his men as the most brilliant and fearless general in the Continental army, led a counterattack that forced Burgoyne to retreat. Arnold's presence and performance so inspired his men that he became a hero to the whole Continental army. Unfortunately, in two years he would become a traitor to this same cause and army.

Burgoyne knew his army was almost surrounded and his supplies were gone. He knew he had no hope of being saved by General Howe's army that was supposed to meet him. He decided to surrender. On October 19, 1777, Burgoyne's army surrendered their weapons. The defeat of Burgoyne was just the evidence King Louis XVI and his ministers needed. They now believed that England could be defeated by a two-front war. Within weeks after receiving the news, the French and their Spanish allies declared war on England. At that moment, a second world war began.

Although Burgoyne's ambitions turned out to be a source of his downfall, his surrender gave rise to the fulfillment of the ambition of Benjamin Franklin. He had gone to France to get the French to become the United States of America's first allies. With news of Burgoyne's surrender, Franklin knew that an alliance with France was not far off.

QUESTIONS:

1. What is the definition of ambition? Does a context determine the meaning? By some, John Burgoyne was considered an ambitious man. Using your definition above, how was he an ambitious person?

2. In December 1776, the Continental Congress sent Benjamin Franklin to Paris. What was the primary reason why it sent him there?

3. What were at least five problems that prevented Burgoyne from successfully reaching Albany?

4. What is the definition of a hero? Does a context determine what a hero is? During the invasion of Burgoyne, what did Benedict Arnold do that made him a hero?

5. Burgoyne's defeat was very important to the colonists who resisted the Crown. For the colonists, what were at least three important consequences of his surrender?

STUDENT RESOURCE 4-C

Noteworthy Quotations: Oh, Fatal Ambition

This exercise provides quotations illustrative of the various moods and feelings from December 1776 though the defeat of General Burgoyne outside Saratoga in October 1777. You should be able to interpret each quotation in the context of the person and situation within which the words were stated.

"To Lord Weymouth: I learned yesterday evening that the famous Doctor Franklin is arrived at Nantes. Some people think that he has come to France on personal business. I am convinced that he is here on some secret business from congress. He's a devious man, incapable of truth and will, I'm sure, try to draw the French into openly supporting the cause of the rebels."

Lord Stormont on hearing of Benjamin Franklin's arrival in France in December 1776

"I can't ask for anything better than this army of professionals. The mob of undisciplined provincials won't have a chance against them. I have instructed the officers to count on the bayonet. The rebels can't stand up against the bayonet. They hide behind trees relying on the rifle pieces."

General John Burgoyne, commander, British army preparing to march South from Canada, June 1777

"General Howe's strange maneuvers puzzle us beyond measure. One day his ships seem ready to head up the Hudson; the next day they seem headed toward Philadelphia. I am completely perplexed as to what his real design is. Our conduct must be governed by his. If we can keep General Howe at bay, I think that any success which Mister Burgoyne has will be partial and temporary."

General George Washington, on explaining his decision not to move his army against Burgoyne, July 1777

"I beat them, I have beat the rebels!"

King George III after hearing of Burgoyne's capture of Ft. Ticonderoga, fall 1777.

"He symbolized republican simplicity—the new man emerging from the new world in America. He was a myth. The figure of Franklin was extremely popular. In each French home there was a portrait of Franklin. His face could be found on the bottom of beer glasses. He was everywhere!"

Historian Bernard Vincent, in discussing Franklin's popularity among the French people after his arrival, 1996

"I sent back most of my baggage and have kept only a small summer wardrobe. As we were going to be marching further, I had a small carriage built with seats for my three children and the servants. So we are traveling in the midst of the soldiers who are merry, singing songs and burning with a desire for victory. General Burgoyne, he likes to make himself comfortable."

Baroness Frederika Von Riedesel, wife of a Hessian officer, who is among the camp followers of Burgoyne's army, fall 1777

"The Native American people fought for their own homes. They realized that if the colonists won, their lands would be overrun. They had no great alliance or great support of the British government, but they realized that the British government was . . . their only hope here in defending their homeland against the colonists. . . . It was the lesser of two evils, but it certainly was the preferred choice."

Historian R. David Edmunds, describing the situation all the Native Americans found themselves in during the war, 1996

"If I weren't actually here, I could never have believed such a terrible place as this exists in the world. It's hot and sticky in the day and at night it's cold and foggy. Last night we had thunderstorms with much heavier thunder and lightening than I ever experienced in Germany. In camp we are constantly waging war against the flies. At night, snakes come visit us in our tents. I cannot describe how terrified I am of them."

Julius Frederick Wasmus, Hessian soldier, with Burgoyne's army, fall 1777

"Gentlemen: General Burgoyne's plan is to cut communications between the Northern and Southern states. He must be speedily and vigorously opposed. We are looking to your militia for support. Every motive of self-preservation, of liberty and happiness has a claim on your efforts."

General George Washington's message to the militia in the New England colonies, fall 1777

"This crusade is to restore to you the blessings of legal government. You Americans are invited to join us in this glorious task. Civilians will not be bothered if you remain quietly in your homes, and make available to our army forage for our animals. . . . To those who continue this stubborn rebellion will come the vengeance of a state against its willful outcasts. The Indian forces under my direction will wreak devastation, famine and every imaginable horror on those who resist us."

General John Burgoyne's message to the people in the areas in front of his advancing army, fall 1777

"New recruits are collecting in every town on the continent. In a few months the rascals will be stronger than ever. Even the preachers have turned their pulpits into drums, summoning all to arms among this cursed rabble. Damn them all!"

Nicholas Cresswell, traveler from England who happened to be near Burgoyne's army, fall 1777

"The Americans who were masters of propaganda said here is a woman, a beautiful woman who was a fiancée of one of the officers with Burgoyne, and Burgoyne's Indians scalped her. Now if this is what's being done to the women who are allied with his own forces, what are they going to do with your wives and your children when they get here, and they're coming! And the New England troops just turned out in droves."

Historian George C. Neumann, describing the massacre of Jane McCrea in late July 1777, 1996

"The enemy are at home here. They know this damn countryside, so they have a huge advantage. Every step for us—scouting, reconnoitering—brings new perils. Everywhere there are streams to cross and bridges to build. It takes a week to advance one mile. . . . Stuck here in the middle of nowhere waiting for our supplies. Hot! so hot you couldn't breathe inside the tents; everyone has dysentery. Have to keep on working if we want to stay alive."

Sergeant Roger Lamb, officer in Burgoyne's army, fall 1777

"Arnold rides up and points his sword at the enemy. Morgan's men, urged on by Arnold, hurl themselves against the English and Germans with deadly fire from their rifles. I can't describe the bravery of Arnold on this battlefield. He's inspired with the fury of a demon."

John Gill describing Benedict Arnold's efforts on the battlefield to prevent Burgoyne's army from winning a key battle at Freeman's Farm, October 7, 1777

"I rode posthaste from Nantes with the dispatches from America. I didn't have time to get off my horse when Franklin shouted to me, 'Did Howe really take Philadelphia?' 'Yes sir,' I said, and the poor gentlemen sadly shook his head and was heading back to the house. I stopped him, 'But sir, I have greater news than that. General Burgoyne and his whole army are prisoners of war!'
The effect was electrical."

Jonathan Austin bringing message of Burgoyne's surrender to Benjamin Franklin in France, winter 1777

MODULE V:
THE WORLD TURNED UPSIDE DOWN

UNIFYING CONCEPTS AND THEMES

hope, plan, invasion, civil war, betrayal, surrender, southern campaign

KEY VOCABULARY

tidewater region, revenge, hero, traitor, miracle, siege, Tories, Loyalists, pacify, alliance

STUDENT LEARNING EXPECTATIONS

Module V focuses on Cornwallis's southern campaign. It depicts his frustrated attempt to find Loyalist supporters in the South and his defeat by the colonial army with French naval support. At the end of the lesson, students should be able to:

- state at least three reasons why the Crown forces in 1779 believed that they might win victories in the Southern colonies and keep at least these colonies within the empire.
- describe the situation after early 1778 that lead Parliament to withhold sending the entire navy and a much larger army to war in the colonies.
- describe the two parts of the Crown's plan to win the southern colonies and the reasons that each part of these plans tended to backfire for the Crown.
- state the major reasons why a very violent and intense civil war broke out between Loyalists and rebels in each of the southern colonies during the latter part of the war.
- explain the perceptions of some Crown soldiers to the destruction and killing they saw as a result of the civil wars in the colonies.
- state the reasons why Benedict Arnold, prior to his betrayal, was considered a hero by many Americans.
- state a definition of betray, and describe what Benedict Arnold had to do to betray the colonial side.
- state the likely affects of Benedict Arnold's turning traitor on the thoughts and feelings of individuals in the colonies and in England who supported the cause of the Continental Congress.
- state the major characteristics of Nathanael Greene's strategy for winning in the South and the likely reasons why this strategy was so successful.
- state the meaning of the phrase, "won the battle but lost the war," and explain how this statement characterized the efforts of Nathanael Greene's army during the southern campaign.
- state the major reasons why the Crown forces were so unsuccessful in restoring the authority of the Crown in the South.
- state at least three characteristics of Cornwallis's efforts in the South that were similar to the efforts of the French and Americans in Vietnam from 1945–1975.
- describe General de Rochambeau's attitude towards fighting the British in an attempt to take control of New York City.
- describe the elements that had to be coordinated in order for the Americans and French to defeat Cornwallis's forces at Yorktown.
- state at least two reasons why Cornwallis blamed General George Clinton who was stationed in New York City during 1781 for the problems that led to his surrender at Yorktown.
- describe at least three important contributions of the French fleet to the defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown.
- describe what Cornwallis did to the blacks who had joined with him to defeat the colonists and who accompanied his retreating army to Yorktown.

- describe the perceptions of soldiers in the victorious Continental army as they observed the Crown troops laying down their weapons.

- state at least three reasons why, after the surrender in Yorktown, many in England decided to end their efforts to win back the colonies.

SYNOPSIS: THE WORLD TURNED UPSIDE DOWN

For a synopsis of the program, see Student Resource 5-B. You may wish to provide students with these sheets after viewing the video.

SYNOPSIS OF EACH CHAPTER

Chapter 1: Hope for Victory in the Southern Colonies
(2:26-4:34)
Chapter length: 2 minutes and 8 seconds

In late 1779, the war shifted to the southern colonies. The land and climate here were very different from the Northeastern and Middle Atlantic colonies. Many people in high society in this region had lots of money, large plantations and many of life's niceties. There were reports of widespread support for the Crown in these colonies. Paradoxically, many of the rich there who fought for liberty and freedom owned slaves. The Crown generals hoped to entice thousands of slaves to flee their chains and join the Crown in fighting against the slaveowners. Parliament and the British generals in America had high hopes that they would win the war in the South.

Chapter 2: The Invasion of the South Begins at Charleston
(4:47-10:58)
Chapter length: 6 minutes and 11 seconds

In December 1779 after five years of fighting the war in the colonies was a stalemate. The Crown was unable to win in the northeastern and middle colonies. The southern colonies provided some hope for a victory that could be used to recapture the remaining colonies. Meanwhile, the Crown worried about a possible invasion of England by the French. Parliament was also worried about protecting the lucrative colonies in the Caribbean. Charleston, the political and economic center of the lowest southern colonies was the city selected as the opening target for the new campaign. It took General George Clinton's forces six weeks before the large American army surrendered the city. Very quickly afterwards, Georgia was subdued and much of South Carolina came under the control of Crown forces. Victory in the southern colonies seemed assured. For the first time, large numbers of Loyalists publicly declared their allegiance to the Crown.

One part of the plan for victory in the South was to encourage slaves to desert their masters and join the Crown army. There were immediate signs that this part of the strategy was very successful. Meanwhile, white slaveowners were frightened by the number of blacks who were leaving. The slaveowners were concerned about the number of workers who were leaving and what the former slaves, once armed, might do to the slaveowners and their families. The rebels, in self-defense, united against the threat of a slave uprising to keep the slaves they had and to defeat those slaves who returned to get revenge. When the situation was opportune, these resisters also confronted parts of the Crown army.

Chapter 3: One Plan Backfires
(11:00-16:41)
Chapter length: 5 minutes and 41 seconds

After the initial victories, Clinton returned to New York. Cornwallis was left in charge of the southern campaign. The Crown plan was to conquer land and put the Loyalists in charge so that territory was secure and the army could move on to another territory. In Georgia and South Carolina, many of the Loyalists were more interested in revenge against the plantation owners and members of high society who sided with the resisters than in supporting the Crown army and taking charge of the local governments. In fact, these Loyalists had little enthusiasm for the Crown and for supporting the Crown army. They wanted revenge. The brutality of these Loyalists not only served to unite the rebels, it frightened Cornwallis and his soldiers. The rebels, in self-defense, united against the Loyalists and sometimes confronted parts of the Crown army. This part of the Southern plan ignited a civil war rather than secured the colonies under Crown authority. Once again, a plan that had seemed so promising worked against the Crown. Cornwallis was left to find a way to win in the South.

Chapter 4: Betrayal
(16:43-20:35)
Chapter length: 3 minutes and 52 seconds

In early 1780, after five years of the war and two incredibly hard winters at Valley Forge and Morristown, Washington remained outside New York hoping to contain Clinton's army from expanding into the countryside. He did not know what was going on in the South except that Charleston had fallen, that the Loyalists and American rebels were engaged in a brutal struggle against one another, and that he could not leave New York to lead the opposition against Cornwallis. The situation was desperate for the colonial cause and the army. Congress had little money and supplies were short. For many, the war seemed all but lost.

Then Washington received word that General Benedict Arnold had turned traitor. Arnold had been a genuine hero for the colonial cause. But by early 1780, he was convinced that the war was lost. He was also upset because petty politics and jealousies had kept him from the higher ranks that by right he deserved. His betrayal shook up the people in the colonies, the army and Washington. Through it all, Washington managed to keep his army on the field and colonial cause alive.

Chapter 5: The French Arrive
(20:37-26:22)
Chapter length: 5 minutes and 45 seconds

Washington's great hope was aid from the French. In 1780, primarily French money, munitions and supplies sustained the war effort for the colonists. The fighting attracted a number of idealistic foreign volunteers, many of them noblemen. One of these was Baron von Steuben. Another was the nineteen-year-old Marquis de Lafayette. Lafayette and Washington became such close friends that Washington treated him as his own son. Lafayette played an important part in getting King Louis XVI to send an army to the colonies to assist Washington. The king agreed but, much to Lafayette's surprise, Jean Baptiste de Rochambeau, not he, was selected to command this army. By the end of the year, 6,000 French troops landed at Newport under the command of Rochambeau. Rochambeau was shocked by the state of Washington's army and the conditions in the country. Privately he believed that the colonial cause was all but lost. Meanwhile, Eliza Wilkinson, a supporter of the colonial cause, still believed their countrymen would win.

Chapter 6: "We Are like a Crab"
(26:24-35:00)
Chapter length: 8 minutes and 36 seconds

In 1780, Washington appointed General Nathanael Greene to take command of the Continental army in the South. Greene was appalled by what he observed in terms of the brutality and the extent of the hatred between the Loyalists and the rebels. Washington wanted action in the South. He got it from Greene. Greene was not so much interested in winning battles as winning the war. He lost every battle, drew Cornwallis's army nearly 200 miles inland, led Cornwallis across three states, and avoided disaster by movements Greene himself likened to the movements of a crab. His campaign and tactics are still admired. Over time, even the Hessians began to admire the willingness of Greene's soldiers to remain with him under the terrible conditions in which they had to live. They attributed this willingness to stay in the army to the enthusiasm the colonists had for liberty.

Meanwhile Cornwallis's force of nearly 9,000 men and almost 5,000 runaway slaves found themselves victorious but exhausted, hungry, sick and separated from their major source of supplies, the British navy. In spite of his victories, Cornwallis failed to get sufficient Loyalist support to install a royal government in even one community or county. It was clear to Cornwallis that the key to victory in the South was not winning on the battlefield as he had been doing. He was winning battles but losing the region. In early summer 1781 Cornwallis decided that he could not continue without reinforcements and supplies. He chose to move his headquarters to Yorktown, Virginia, and wait for orders, supplies and reinforcements. He was sure that in Yorktown the Royal Navy could always bring what he needed. Greene was right behind, beside or in front of him the entire way. In August 1781, Cornwallis arrived in Yorktown.

Chapter 7: "The French! The French!"
(35:02-36:57)
Chapter length: 1 minute and 55 seconds

While Greene and Cornwallis were maneuvering and battling in the South, the French army of 6,000 men under Rochambeau camped by itself in Rhode Island for nearly a year. Rochambeau refused to attack New York as Washington wanted. He was afraid that they could not win. He knew his French soldiers would quickly lose faith in their commanders if forced into a battle that could not be won. Lafayette could not urge Rochambeau to action and was extremely frustrated by Rochambeau's resistance to this attack. As Washington saw it, the French were continually raising his hopes and then letting them down. Washington did not realize that Rochambeau was not afraid to fight; he just wanted a battle that was possible to win. Then suddenly the chance arose.

Chapter 8: It Will Take a Miracle
(37:00-40:19)
Chapter length: 3 minutes and 19 seconds

On August 14, 1781, Rochambeau received a message from Admiral de Grasse that his sizable French naval force would soon enter the Chesapeake Bay area around Yorktown. De Grasse reported his fleet would be available to help the ground forces until October 15. Washington and Rochambeau planned a strategy that would destroy Cornwallis's position along the Virginia coast. They undertook the nearly impossible task of synchronizing de Grasse's naval force with two land forces over a thousand miles away so that they would arrive at Yorktown in the strongest possible position. Rochambeau's army had to move south from Rhode Island and meet with part of Washington's army outside New York City. Then these armies had to move south and join forces with Nathanael Greene's army outside of Yorktown. Meanwhile de Grasse had to defeat the Crown navy and prevent Cornwallis's escape by sea at the same time. There was no time for delay because de Grasse would leave the Chesapeake region and return to the Caribbean beginning on or about October 15. Each unit had to do its part very well and on time. On land, Washington and Rochambeau lead 17,000 troops south through Philadelphia to confront Cornwallis's 9,000 troops. Cornwallis also had an estimated 5,000 blacks, mostly runaway slaves, in his camp. Meanwhile, Cornwallis waited for reinforcements.

Chapter 9: Cornwallis Digs in
(40:21-45:45)
Chapter length: 5 minutes and 24 seconds

Cornwallis and his army were camped on the Hudson River's edge. Facing them were the French and Continental armies, and behind them was the French fleet. He had nowhere to go on land or water. He ordered his men to dig in and wait for supplies and reinforcements. The French and Continental forces slowly move forward in trenches. They lay siege to the fortifications hastily put up by Cornwallis's men. As supplies got lower and room scarcer, Cornwallis forced the 3,000–5,000 blacks out of the fortifications. Because most were unarmed, many were killed or wounded trying to get past the Americans and French. Few escaped.

Chapter 10: Surrender at Yorktown
(45:47-53:42)
Chapter length: 7 minutes and 55 seconds

As the French and Americans moved forward. Cornwallis had nowhere to go. On October 17, he sent out a white flag of truce. Two days later, his troops surrendered their arms to Washington, because Rochambeau had insisted that this surrender be directly to the Americans rather than to the French. Less than a week later, Clinton's supply and reinforcement ships arrived. It was too late. The French navy had returned to the Caribbean. Cornwallis's soldiers were prisoners of war. Seeing that they could be of no help in the area, the royal supply ships returned to New York City.

In England, the news of Cornwallis's surrender turned public opinion against the government. New ministers led the government. King George III reluctantly accepted that the colonies were no longer British. Many members of Parliament insisted that the military focus on Spain, France and the Netherlands because Britain was still at war against them.

CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

Teachers may select activities that are the most appropriate for their students.

SUGGESTED ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Refer to the GUIDE TO RESOURCES and consider one or more of the resources that would complement students' inquiry into this video and its content. The activities below may also be used.

- Ask students to investigate Benedict Arnold's actions during the war. First, they may want to construct a definition of the terms hero and traitor. Then have them debate which of these terms describes Arnold better. They may want to make a list of his heroic and traitorous actions and give a motive for each. (Module 4 suggests other activities on Arnold.)

- Have students investigate the civil wars that took place in the southern colonies during the Revolutionary War. Have them list the motives for each side in these wars. They should investigate the amount of destruction and number of deaths which resulted from these wars. Have them then chart the successful achievement of each side's objectives. They could write a story from the point of view of the Loyalists or the supporters of the rebel cause. What would each side have felt? What evidence can students find to justify these feelings?

- Have students propose a new plan for Cornwallis's southern campaign. First, they should trace his route through the colonies. Have them mark the site of each battle and indicate whether he won or lost it. They should calculate the number of miles his troops covered. Next they should construct a list of reasons why his actions ended in defeat. Finally, they develop a plan that they might have used to conquer the South for Britain. Have them explain why their plan would have been at least as successful, if not more successful, than Cornwallis's was. As an additional exercise, they could decide Cornwallis's effectiveness as a general. This study of the southern campaign could form a part of their evidence.

- Ask students to investigate the use of siege warfare during the Revolutionary War. They should delve into the philosophy and actions needed for this type of fighting. They could use the siege of Yorktown as a case study. Have them assess the quality of the siege by Washington and Rochambeau against Cornwallis. They could investigate the reasons for the success of this act. They could also analyze how Washington and Rochambeau's forces departed from the philosophy or actions of traditional siege warfare.

- Have students examine the consequences of the Revolutionary War. They may want to consult secondary sources, such as those listed in the **Reference List** at the end of this guide. Students could list the reasons which were most important to the colonists immediately after the war and then arrange this list in descending order of importance. In a parallel list, they could arrange the reasons which are most important to Americans today.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Below are questions for classroom discussion.

1. After the beginning of 1778, Parliament withheld sending the entire Royal Navy and a much larger army to war in the colonies. What particular situation led to them to this decision?
2. During the latter part of the war, a very violent and intense civil war broke out between the Loyalists and rebels in each of the Southern colonies. What were at least two reasons why these civil wars occurred?
3. Many Crown soldiers witnessed destruction and killing as a result of these civil wars. What were their reactions to what they saw?
4. Describe the major characteristics of Nathanael Greene's strategy for winning the South. Explain why his strategy was so successful.
5. What is the meaning of the phrase "win the battles but lose the war"? How does this phrase characterize Cornwallis's efforts during his southern campaign?
6. Cornwallis's efforts in the South have been compared with the efforts of the French and Americans in Vietnam from 1945 to 1975. What are some similarities between these two war efforts?
7. What was Rochambeau's opinion of Washington's plan to attack New York City?
8. What were some of the elements that the American and French forces had to coordinate before they met Cornwallis's forces at Yorktown?
9. Name several contributions of the French fleet to Cornwallis's defeat at Yorktown.

STUDENT RESOURCES

5-A. Questions to Focus Inquiry: The World Turned Upside Down

This exercise focuses students' attention on essential facts in these chapters of the video.

5-B. Content and Overview: The World Turned Upside Down

This activity provides contextual background for the period from late 1779 to October 1781, just after General Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown. This information helps students construct a better sense of the perceptions, conditions and attitudes emphasized in the video.

5-C. Noteworthy Quotations: The World Turned Upside Down

This exercise provides a number of quotations illustrative of the various moods and feelings during the period from December 1779 to October 1781.

STUDENT RESOURCE 5-A

Questions to Focus Inquiry: The World Turned Upside Down

The questions below will focus your attention during the video. They will help you understand the British defeat in the South. They also focus on other issues that were important at this time.

QUESTIONS

1. In late 1779 the British generals believed that they might win victories in the Southern colonies and keep at these colonies within the empire. What were at least three reasons why they believed that this was possible?

2. What were the two parts of the Crown's plan in 1779 to win the Southern colonies?

3. Explain why each part of the Crown's plan failed.

4. Define the terms traitor and betrayal.

5. Benedict Arnold's turning traitor greatly affected the individuals on both sides of the Atlantic who supported the cause of the Continental Congress. Suggest three likely effects on the rebels of his turning traitor.

6. What were the major characteristics of Nathanael Greene's crab-like strategy for winning the South?

7. How does the statement "lost the battles but won the war" characterize the efforts of Greene's army during the southern campaign?

8. The Crown forces were very unsuccessful in restoring the authority of the Crown in the South. What were the major reasons why they were unsuccessful?

9. Between 3,000 and 5,000 blacks joined Cornwallis to defeat the colonists and accompanied him in his retreat to Yorktown. What did Cornwallis order his army to do to these people?

10. What were at least three reactions by people in England to the news of Cornwallis's surrender?

11. After the surrender at Yorktown, many in England decided to end their efforts to win back the colonies. What were the major reasons for this decision?

STUDENT RESOURCES 5-B

Context and Overview: The World Turned Upside Down

The description below is an overview of the video entitled The World Turned Upside Down. *It follows the story in the video, but expands the context and focuses of the general moods and attitudes of the men and women involved in these events.*

Unable to win in the northern colonies, Crown officers decided to switch the war to the southern colonies. They heard that there was strong Loyalist support for Britain. They also heard that there were lots of men ready to fight alongside Crown troops to defeat the rebels. They thought that they could quickly capture a major port city, spread inland from that city, and quickly restore royal governments in each local community. If all worked well, then the army could place Loyalists in charge of each community and move on. This plan would restore the royal government where ever the army went. The British generals then believed the army could move northward into colonies that offered far more resistance. The plan was simple. But were the rumors about Loyalist support correct? Could the Loyalists help the army enough to insure victory?

In December 1779, Crown soldiers began what was called the southern campaign. After a six-week struggle, they captured Charleston, South Carolina. This was the political, social and economic capital of the southern colonies. The initial success brought many Loyalists to openly pledge loyalty to the king and Britain. General George Clinton was overwhelmed by this support. He concluded that he would have an easy time winning the rest of the south. He then turned over his command to General Charles Cornwallis and returned to New York City. Cornwallis had to conquer the rest of the southern colonies, which he could do only by leading an army into the countryside. There he expected much Loyalist support and easy victories.

He found that he had Loyalist support but that it did him little good. There were not enough Loyalists to help him win the battles decisively and to keep control of the land or a community once the army left. Moreover, there were not enough who were able to govern the community without an army being present. Cornwallis also found that many Loyalists wanted to spend their time getting revenge against the colonists who sided with the Continental Congress. Cornwallis, to his dismay, found a violent and intense civil war in each colony which he invaded. Often the men on both sides of the civil war were less concerned with re-establishing or stopping the return of a royal government in a community than they were with protecting what they had. Cornwallis found that many of the Loyalists in the countryside had long resented the political power, status, money and landed estates of those who later sided with the Continental Congress. For decades the people in the rural areas were upset by the way the wealthy merchants and plantation owners governed the colony. Many of these rural people saw the war between the colonies and Britain as a convenient way to get back at the wealthy. Eventually civil wars broke out in nearly every colony. In the South these wars resulted in a great deal of destruction of property and thousands of deaths. These were the forgotten wars of the Revolution.

Meanwhile a French army of 6,000 men arrived in Newport, Rhode Island. This army was under the command of Count Jean Baptiste de Rochambeau. He came to help Washington, but he would not use his army when he thought it would lose. While Rochambeau's army trained for months, Washington became quite upset that he would not help him attack New York City.

During 1780–1781, Cornwallis moved through South Carolina, then North Carolina and finally into Virginia. He never could get the Loyalist support he needed. Instead he found himself fighting battles against General Nathanael Greene. Greene's tactic was like that of a crab. He moved around and never stayed long enough to be captured. Although Cornwallis defeated Greene's army in battle after battle, Cornwallis seemed to be losing the war. In addition, his food and supplies got very low. His army had traveled hundreds of miles overland with little to show for its effort. After two years of this invasion, very little territory except for Charleston was under full control of the Loyalists. Cornwallis's frustrations increased.

Cornwallis decided to go back to the coast and get supplies and reinforcements. He wanted to let Clinton know that the South was not going to be easy to control. He decided to go to Yorktown, Virginia. There he would wait for fresh supplies, reinforcements and new orders. On the way he tried once again to get the Loyalists' support he needed. He found little support. The rebels controlled all the countryside except where Cornwallis's army was. Even worse, Nathanael Greene's army followed Cornwallis to Yorktown. This time Greene's army spent much of its time sniping at Cornwallis's men and attacking his supply wagons. In late summer 1781 Cornwallis arrived outside Yorktown. He was sure that he would soon be safe.

What Cornwallis did not know was that the French Admiral François de Grasse had sent a message to Rochambeau from the Caribbean Sea. It said that for a period of about two weeks his fleet would be in the area of Chesapeake Bay. After two weeks it would return to the

Caribbean. De Grasse offered to use his fleet to help the Continental army. At the time, de Grasse did not know that Cornwallis was in Yorktown. To take advantage of this situation, Washington and Rochambeau had to march their armies from Rhode Island and New York to Yorktown before de Grasse's fleet left. And they would have to defeat Cornwallis by October 15, the date de Grasse would leave. They did not even know if de Grasse would keep his promise. It would take a miracle, some thought, for all their plans to work. Speed and timing were very important. In addition, Washington did not want Clinton in New York City to know that he had moved most of his army away from the city.

The two armies quickly and quietly marched southward. As they marched, the French navy defeated a fleet of British ships sent to assist Cornwallis. Washington and Rochambeau arrived as scheduled. The combined armies exceeded 17,000 men. Cornwallis, with 9,000 men, many of whom were injured or sick, was surrounded but not defeated. However, the supplies and reinforcements never reached him. His attempted escape failed. Meanwhile, French and Americans began a siege. They dug ditches closer and closer to Cornwallis's fortifications. Their cannons caused numerous deaths and injuries and much destruction, and by mid-October they were very close to the last line of defense of Cornwallis's army. With no hope for victory, Cornwallis surrendered. The date of the actual surrender of weapons was four years to the day that Burgoyne had surrendered at Saratoga. Humiliated, embarrassed and not wanting to admit defeat to Washington, Cornwallis refused to be present when his sword was turned over to Washington.

In September 1783, nearly two years after Cornwallis's defeat, a treaty of peace was signed in Paris. Although the American Revolutionary War was over, the Revolution continued.

QUESTIONS:

1. What were three reasons why in fall 1779 the British decided to send an army to the Southern colonies?

2. If you were a general of the British army in fall 1779, would you have approved or disapproved of this plan?

3. What is a definition of a civil war?

4. What was the background of the two groups who fought against one another in these civil wars?

5. What were two important ways these civil wars hurt the chances of the Loyalists gaining control in the colonies?

6. What were the main characteristics of Greene's strategy for fighting Cornwallis?

7. It is sometimes said that the Battle of Yorktown was won by a miracle. What were at least three events that contributed to the miracle in October 1781 that enabled the Americans and French to force Cornwallis to surrender?

8. At Yorktown, what did Cornwallis order his men to do with the escaped slaves who had joined the British army?

9. Imagine you were Cornwallis and you just sent your troops out to surrender their weapons. What words would you use to address your troops?

10. Imagine you were George Washington and your troops are watching the British and Hessian troops surrender their weapons. What words would best describe your emotions at that time?

11. Soon after the surrender at Yorktown, Parliament decided to stop the war in the colonies. What were three important reasons for this decision?

STUDENT RESOURCE 5-C

Noteworthy Quotations: The World Turned Upside Down

This exercise provides quotations illustrative of the various moods and feelings in the period from December 1779 to Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown on October 19, 1781. You should be able to interpret each quotation in the context of the person and situation within which the words were stated.

"Let us encourage the Negroes in the Southern Provinces to rise up against their masters. . . . The Negroes will arise and steep their hands in the blood of their masters."

A Crown soldier on the hopes of the Crown in securing victory in the South, 1779

"They calls us a pack of beggars—those Charleston gentry in their fine linens."

One of the poor Scots-Irish Loyalists from the backwoods of South Carolina, 1780

"Their country is ruined. They have nothing, not a single coin. . . . Send men, money and ships, but don't count on any help from these people."

General Jean Baptiste de Rochambeau's early assessment of Washington's army and the colonial situation, 1780

"I've never witnessed such scenes of desolation, bloodshed and deliberate murder. . . . We too have become savages."

General Nathanael Greene's reaction to what he observed during the civil wars soon after assuming command of the Continental army in the South, 1780

"I run as fast backwards as forwards, to convince our enemy that we are like a crab. We can run in any direction, as long as it is away."

General Nathanael Greene's description of his strategy for defeating the Crown army under Cornwallis, 1780

"I now see what 'enthusiasm'—what these ragged fellows call 'liberty'—can do. Out of this rabble rises a people who defy kings."

Remarks from the diary of Johann Ewald, a Hessian soldier fighting in the South, 1781

"My dear fellow, I'll let you in on one of my great secrets learned from years of experience. Frenchmen aren't invincible. Our troops are easily beaten when they lose confidence in their leaders."

French General Rochambeau in a letter to Marquis Marie Joseph de Lafayette, 1781

"The French! The French! I wish to God they wouldn't keep raising our hopes, then letting us down."

General Washington on hearing of General Rochambeau's refusal to send troops to capture New York City, 1781

"Count de Grasse will be arriving in the Chesapeake area with 29 war boats. . . . We must make use of it promptly and efficiently."

General Rochambeau's letter to Washington, August 1781

"Tomorrow we will move as close as possible to Yorktown, and then our troops will just wait for the pear to ripen. We will of course yield precedence to the Americans. We will allow them to claim the victory."

General Rochambeau's message to French Admiral Françoise Grasse after de Grasse's fleet has shut off supplies to Yorktown, October 1781

"If that happens [and we have to surrender], the blame will be on Clinton, not on us."

General Charles Cornwallis in response to one of his soldier's concern about their ability to stand up against the siege, October 1781

"It's harsh. Our Black friends served our army well, and now we drive them out by force between firing guns. Now they will have to face the rewards of their cruel masters. . . . I just can't talk about what we're doing to them."

Remarks from the diary of Johann Ewald, a Hessian soldier in Yorktown, October 1781

"I would suggest that it is all over but for the fact that there are three other wars that have grown out of it, and we are forty million pounds in debt."

Horace Walpole, English essayist, upon hearing the news of Cornwallis's surrender, 1782

"We didn't say much. We've lived together for eight years—young men with warm hearts. . . . It's a sad time. By now everyone's heard that old story of the soldiers tracking the blood of their feet on the frozen ground. It literally happened. But you don't know a thousandth part of how we suffered. You never can."

From diary of Joseph Plumb Martin, a Continental soldier, in reference to being discharged from the army, 1782

MODULE VI:
ARE WE TO BE A NATION?

UNIFYING CONCEPTS AND THEMES

nation, constitution, compromise, republic, federal system, revolution

KEY VOCABULARY

confederation, Bill of Rights, aristocracy, creditor, debtor, visionary, bankrupt, debtor rebellion, conspiracy, convention, coercive power, will of the majority, Federalists, Anti-Federalists

STUDENT LEARNING EXPECTATIONS

Episode VI examines the postwar period in which the colonies struggled to unite. It focuses on the Constitutional Convention and the creation of a government. At the end of the lesson, students should be able to:

- describe Washington's view of himself and his future as he surrendered his sword to the Continental Congress and refused another position in the government.
- state the meaning of the phrase "thirteen little republics" and what this meant in the context of the political conditions in America immediately after the war.
- state at least three of the positive changes that occurred within the former colonies as a result of the United States winning the war.
- describe at least four effects losing the war had on the Loyalists who had lived in the colonies.
- state a definition of national vision and describe how Alexander Hamilton's ideas for the future of the states would be an example of a national vision.
- state at least four of Alexander Hamilton's reasons why a United States under a strong central government would one day become a world power.
- state a reason why Noah Webster's American English dictionary contributed to building the American culture independent of its former ties with Britain.
- define sovereignty.
- explain the advantages and disadvantages to each state if each had remained independent and sovereign nations within a confederation.
- describe at least four problems that the government under the Articles of Confederation had in trying to govern the confederation.
- describe the cause of Shay's Rebellion.
- state at least two reasons why people like Noah Webster, after hearing of Shay's Rebellion, might have changed their minds about government by popular democracy.
- state at least three reasons why Americans in 1785–87 might have supported the return to a powerful monarchy and national Parliament.
- state the original reasons for the May 1787 Philadelphia convention of representatives from the states.
- state two important reasons why the members of the 1787 Philadelphia convention voted to keep their deliberations secret.
- state a reason why Patrick Henry, after hearing the news that the delegates in Philadelphia were working in secret, said, "I smell a rat."
- state the major problem that James Madison said had to be solved by the delegates to the Philadelphia convention.
- state at least two important consequences of the Philadelphia convention.
- describe James Madison's major concerns about a government that did not control the will of the majority.
- describe the immediate reactions of the majority of the people to the proposal that came out of the Philadelphia convention.

- state the advantages and disadvantages to each state if each were to give up much of its independence and sovereignty to a strong central and national government.
- state at least four reasons that people had to support the proposed new Constitution over the government under the Articles of Confederation.
- state at least four criticisms that people had against the government under the proposed new Constitution.
- state several Federalist ideas in support of the government under the proposed Constitution.
- state several Anti-Federalist ideas against the government under the proposed Constitution.
- describe how Samuel Adams's request for more time may have contributed to the Massachusetts convention's decision to accept the new Constitution.
- describe the one issue that eventually made it possible for a number of critics to support the proposed Constitution.
- state a definition of a bill of rights and the Bill of Rights.
- state the reasons why the Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution.
- state at least two reasons why the Bill of Rights was important to the people of today.
- state at least one reason why some people did not consider the American Revolution to be a revolution.
- state a definition of liberty and describe at least one way that the new Constitution with its Bill of Rights was likely to protect liberty for Americans.

SYNOPSIS: ARE WE TO BE A NATION?

For a synopsis of the program, see Student Resource 6-B. You may wish to to provide students with these sheets after viewing the video.

SYNOPSIS OF EACH CHAPTER

Chapter 1: Thirteen Little Republics

(2:47-7:35)

Chapter length: 4 minutes and 48 seconds

The video opens with George Washington surrendering his sword and position as commander of the army to the Continental Congress. He could have used the army to make him king or accepted a major role in the government run by the Congress. He refused. He wanted to withdraw from public life and return to his plantation. He expected to die very soon as most in his family had died at his age, 52. He was one of few men in history to refuse a high political position after just having won a major war.

Washington's resignation following the war took place in a situation where thirteen little republics—each formerly a colony—had to decide how they should be governed. The chances were great they would remain separate nations rather than unite as a single strong nation. The leaders in each nation now had to decide their own future.

Chapter 2: Winners and Losers

(7:47-14:10)

Chapter length: 6 minutes and 23 seconds

The war was over. The colonists who supported the war effort considered themselves winners. They got most of what they wanted in the peace treaty with Britain. They got the land west of the Mississippi. The soldiers returned home glad the war was over. With many of the social restrictions and customs gone, colonists began to take advantage of the freedom and new attitudes that existed. White servitude in the form of indentured servants dropped sharply and by 1800 disappeared altogether. Many blacks in the North were able to use the new state constitutions to win their emancipation.

Meanwhile, more than 100,000 Loyalists decided to leave America. Most had little time to sell or get their possessions. Many went to Nova Scotia, others went to one of Britain's other territories, and some went back to England. Those in England tended to remain unhappy and isolated for the rest of their lives. Most longed to return to America but believed they never could be accepted there.

Chapter 3: A National Vision
(14:14-19:04)
Chapter length: 4 minutes and 50 seconds

The war ended with thirteen separate nations tied together in a lose confederation. Each state was in full control of all the responsibilities of an independent nation. Their constitution was the Articles of Confederation. For many in these nation-states, this was the best form of government they could have. Under the confederation, they were still in charge of their own destiny. They had fought a war to be free of the actions of a stronger, higher-level governmental body. They were not likely to give in quickly to a system that required them to give up most of their powers.

At the same time, others wanted a strong national government rather than the central government under a confederation. Men like Alexander Hamilton envisioned a strong nation that would one day be a leader in the world. They saw this unified nation taking advantage of its land, resources and people to shape a nation that would be the envy of the world. They believed this could only happen if the nation-states would unite under a strong national government. Others began to reveal a national rather than local or state vision. Noah Webster wrote the first American dictionary. Franklin and Washington became heroes, elevated to myths.

But in 1783, few people foresaw or advocated a strong nation of thirteen unified states. The vast majority of people still linked their identity to their states and not the country under the confederation. They wanted the benefits of independence by controlling their own futures free of a stronger national government.

Chapter 4: All Is Not Well under the Confederation
(19:06-24:30)
Chapter length: 6 minutes and 24 seconds

Even before 1783, there were growing problems under the confederation. After the peace treaty, new problems arose and old ones increased. Britain was slow in leaving the western territories and the nation-states. A major reason they were slow was that the nation-states had no national army or navy to hasten their departure. There were unsettled border disputes, problems with commerce between the nation-states, and a bankrupt national treasury. However, the central government under the Confederation could not tax either states or people within the states. This government could only ask states to give it money; the states either refused or gave a small portion of the money requested. Additionally, there was a large war debt that had to be paid. Within and between nation-states, the population was dividing into creditors and debtors. The population faced serious economic problems. As the tension between the creditors and debtors increased, there were incidences of violence. Shay's Rebellion in 1786 led many Americans to realize that drastic action was needed soon if the benefits of independence were to be realized. Concerned about their future, many leaders of the Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation agreed that delegates from each state should meet soon to find a solution to the problems of government.

Chapter 5: A Convention in Philadelphia
(24:32-30:58)
Chapter length: 6 minutes and 26 seconds

To add prestige to the meeting of the delegates, Washington came out of retirement. Most delegates expected to spend their time revising the Articles of Confederation. A small group believed that the Articles had to be abandoned and a new government structure was needed. Among those who believed this was James Madison. He was most concerned about the problems created when confederations or other forms of government gave too much control to the local political bodies and allowed the central government too little control and too few powers over these bodies.

Those who attended this meeting in Philadelphia slowly convinced themselves that what they needed to do was create a new nation. They convinced themselves that they needed a new government that would preserve the best benefits of independence. Keeping all their deliberations secret, they decided that they should start from scratch rather than try to revise the Articles. The secrecy led Patrick Henry to declare "I smell a rat [in Philadelphia]!" But they did not take part in a conspiracy to rid the nation of the confederation.

Chapter 6: Blueprint for a New Nation
(31:00-34:16)
Chapter length: 3 minutes and 16 seconds

After almost four months of discussion and compromise, the delegates emerged. They proposed to the nation-states that the Articles be abandoned. In their place they proposed a new constitution. This was their blueprint for a new nation and a new form of government. Under this plan, the central government had coercive powers over individuals and individual states. This was a radical departure from the powers of the central government under the articles. The Founding Fathers proposed that in a large, democratically minded nation, powers could be controlled by putting a system of checks and balances on the users of power. Madison had helped convince the delegates that they needed to construct an extensive republic that carefully checked and balanced the whims of the majority. To him and others, the danger of democracy was in the tyranny of the majority. On September 19, 1787, the Constitution was made public. The issue now was to get enough states to approve it as the blueprint for a new national government with their own powers seriously reduced.

Chapter 7: Reactions Are Divided
(34:18-40:54)
Chapter length: 6 minutes and 36 seconds

Most people were shocked by the proposal. They had expected minor adjustments in the articles. Virtually no one expected an entirely new system of government, especially one where a lot of power rested in a national government. The immediate reaction was one of strong criticisms of the new constitution, the government that would be created under it, and the people who designed this government. The people had just fought a war against a strong central government that had the power to tax and to regulate each colony. To them this new government looked suspiciously like the royal government which they had been fighting against.

Those in support of the new government were called Federalists; those opposed, Anti-Federalists. The discussions on all matters related to the new constitution and government involved citizens in every state and at all levels. The pros and cons were hotly debated. The Federalists had to calm many of the fears of their opponents. This was not an easy task.

Chapter 8: Compromise and Approval
(40:56-45:59)
Chapter length: 5 minutes and 03 seconds

The first real test was Massachusetts. The delegates arrived expecting to reject the proposed Constitution. The Federalists were able to respond effectively to every one of their concerns. When the Anti-Federalists wanted to stop the discussion and vote to reject the proposal, Samuel Adams intervened. He said that he had come to listen and learn before making up his mind, and he had learned a great deal. He wanted to learn more. Eventually Massachusetts voted for the new constitution. Spirited debates occurred in every state.

The Federalists had to compromise to gain the approvals they wanted. They agreed that a Bill of Rights had to be added to the Constitution as quickly as possible once it was ratified by the states. While many Federalists believed such a bill was not needed, they agreed to add it. They also helped in the construction of twelve proposed amendments. Ironically, James Madison, who at first strongly disapproved of a Bill of Rights, wrote the drafts of this bill in the form of Amendments to the Constitution. He then became one of its strongest supporters. Ten of the first twelve proposed amendments were approved and are the first ten amendments to the Constitution. The Bill of Rights was the key to gaining approval of the Constitution and making Americans a single people all of whom possessed the same rights. Unfortunately, the framers of the Constitution had to compromise on the issue of slavery.

Chapter 9: We Have Become a Nation
(46:01-53:42)
Chapter length: 7 minutes and 41 seconds

The rights and freedoms contained in the Bill of Rights helped mold the diverse population into a single people. The ideas that came out of the Revolution were the adhesive that kept the people together and helped them participate within a nation. Americans were the first nation to make ideology the basis for the existence of their nation and government. The nation was built on the notion of "We the people."

In a short period of twenty-five years, from 1763 to 1788, a group of diverse people won independence from the strongest nation in the world at the time. They also invented a new form of government. In 1763, 1776 and even 1787, few people believed that it was possible to govern a large nation without a monarch. The aristocratic social system that was characteristic of life under British rule was gone. The assumption that power, control and authority started from on top of the government and social system and went down was largely gone. In spite of all the changes, many people do not view the American Revolution as a revolution at all. They look for the more dramatic, sudden clashes as in the French and Russian Revolutions as evidence of a revolution. These people fail to realize that throughout America, many fundamental changes in thinking about society, government, power, authority and rights had occurred from 1763 to 1787. At the same time, the underlying ideological concepts, many tied to liberty and authority, remained the same. In the end, we became a nation.

CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

Teachers may select activities which are the most appropriate for their students.

SUGGESTED ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Refer to the GUIDE TO RESOURCES and consider one or more of the resources that would complement students' inquiry into this video and its content. The activities below may also be used.

- Ask students to examine the Articles of Confederation and imagine the government system that is established. Have them consider this system of government in terms of its strengths and weaknesses relative to protecting the sovereignty of each state. Have them consider this same governmental system in terms of its strengths and weaknesses relative to protecting the sovereignty of the united, independent states.

- Have students examine the advantages and disadvantages of a confederation of any kind. Ask them to list what each colony was trying to avoid happening to its sovereignty after the war. They could then construct a list of the benefits for leaving a confederation or for staying in one and giving up sovereignty to a more powerful central government.

- Ask students to investigate the Federalist and Antifederalist positions. In preparation for a debate, divide the class into two teams. Have each team make a list of the Antifederalists' arguments with the counter-arguments by the Federalist next to each one. Then have them do the same for the Federalists' arguments and Antifederalist counter-arguments. (This process helps them understand both sides of the issue and can better anticipate their opponents' arguments.) They may want to focus their arguments around issues such as liberty, freedom and rights. Have them prioritize their strongest arguments.

- To study the contributions of the Founding Fathers, break the students into small groups or pairs. Have each one choose a Founding Father. Each then should make a list of their person's most important ideas about government and, in particular, the new government system. Then the groups can present a summary of their findings to the class. Finally, the class may want to create a continuum which shows whether these individuals were very favorable to a new constitution or very opposed to it.

- In preparation of study of the new Constitution, ask students to define the concepts of liberty, freedom, rights, sovereignty and authority. (They may want to consult the vocabulary list in this guide.) With these concepts in mind, have them then examine the government established under the new Constitution. Have them decide the extent to which the new Constitution provided for each of these. As an additional project, they could repeat this exercise for the Bill of Rights.

- Ask students to examine some of the speeches, essays and statements by leaders of the colonial resister prior to April 1775. Have them summarize the main ideas in each of these documents. Then have them examine the U.S. Constitution to see whether or not each of these ideas was addressed. Have them make a chart of their findings. For the items not addressed, they could add a column for explanations of the probable reasons why the Constitution does not respond to them.

- Ask students to investigate the various interpretations of the American Revolution. Have them summarize their findings by making a list of the authors, a summary of their interpretations and reasons for their interpretations. Then have them develop their own interpretation of the American Revolution. They could do this in the form of a comparison or contrast paper. Or they could write an argumentative essay using their findings as evidence.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Below are questions for classroom discussion.

1. Washington surrendered his sword to the Continental Congress and refused another position in the government. Why did he do this? What was his view of himself and his future?

2. What does the phrase "thirteen little republics" mean?

3. Many positive changes occurred within the former colonies as a result of the United States' winning the war. What were at least three of these changes?

4. Explain several of the effects that losing the war had on the hundreds of thousands of Loyalists who lived in the colonies.

5. Alexander Hamilton argued that a United States under a strong central government would one day become a world power. Give several of his reasons to support this position.

6. What did Noah Webster's American English dictionary contribute to the building of an American culture, independent of its British ties?

7. Define sovereignty.

8. Why did the United States under the confederation go bankrupt? Why did it not have much hope of getting out of its bankruptcy?

9. What was the central issue of Shay's Rebellion?

10. After hearing of Shay's Rebellion, many people, including Noah Webster, changed their minds about government by popular democracy. Why did they become more concerned about popular democracy?

11. What were at least two advantages and two disadvantages of each state remaining independent, sovereign nations within a confederation?

12. Why did some Americans in 1785–87 support a return to a powerful monarchy and national Parliament?

13. Why did the members of the 1787 Philadelphia convention vote to keep their deliberations secret? Give at least two reasons.

14. After hearing the news that the delegates in Philadelphia were working in secret, many people were concerned with what was going on in these meetings. Patrick Henry's reaction was "I smell a rat." What might have been his reasons for this reaction?

15. What would be the advantages and disadvantages of each state giving up its sovereignty to a strong central and national government?

16. What were Federalists' main arguments in support of the government proposed under the Constitution?

17. What were the Antifederalists' main arguments against the government proposed under the Constitution?

18. What were at least two consequences of the Philadelphia convention?

19. How did Samuel Adams's request for more time contribute to the Massachusetts convention's decision to accept the Constitution?

20. What were at least two reasons why the Bill of Rights was important to people in the 1780s?

21. Many people were convinced that the Bill of Rights would help ensure that their liberty and rights would be protected by a strong central government. Why did they think this would be true?

22. What is the meaning of the phrase "We the people"?

STUDENT RESOURCES

For a synopsis of the program, see Student Resource 6-B. You may wish to provide students with these sheets after viewing the video.

6-A. Questions to Focus Inquiry: Are We to Be a Nation?

This exercise focuses students' attention on essential facts in these chapters of the video.

6-B. Content and Overview: Are We to Be a Nation?

This activity provides contextual background for the period after the Revolutionary War to the ratification of the Constitution in 1788. This information helps students construct a better sense of the perceptions, conditions and attitudes emphasized in the video.

6-C. Noteworthy Quotations: Are We to Be a Nation?

This exercise provides a number of quotations illustrative of the various moods and feelings during the period just before and after the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

STUDENT RESOURCE 6-A

Questions to Focus Inquiry: Are We to Be a Nation?

The questions below will focus your attention during the video. They will help you understand colonies' struggle to unite during the post-war period. They also focus on other issues that were important at this time.

QUESTIONS:

1. In the context of the political conditions in America immediately after the war, what were some of the problems of having thirteen little republics rather than one republic under a strong central government?
2. What is the definition of the term national vision?
3. What made Alexander Hamilton's ideas for the future of the states an example of a national vision?
4. What were at least four problems that the government under the Articles of Confederation had in trying to govern the confederation?
5. What was the original reason for the May 1787 Philadelphia convention?

6. How was the actual focus different from the original reason for this convention?

7. What were James Madison's major concern about a government that did not control the will of the majority?

8. What were the immediate reactions of the majority of people to the proposals which came out of the convention?

9. Why did people support the newly proposed Constitution over the government under the Articles of Confederation?

10. What was the one issue that eventually made it possible for a number of critics to support the proposed Constitution?

STUDENT RESOURCE 6-B

Context and Overview: Are We to Be a Nation?

The description below is an overview of the video entitled Are We to Be a Nation? *It follows the story in the video, but expands the context and focuses of the general moods and attitudes of the men and women involved in these events.*

The video opens with each of the thirteen former colonies protecting their interests as independent nations. While they worked together in a loose alliance during the war, after the war they wanted to go more on their own way. In fact, after the war there were few reasons for the alliance to continue much longer. While they all belonged to the United States of America under the Articles of Confederation, they could decide to secede from the confederation. Many colonists seemed to like the existing arrangement of the states with a very weak central government. In this system, each state retained its own sovereignty. It had complete power to do what it wanted to do within its own borders. It could contribute to the national government only what it wanted and only when it wanted. It acted as independent nations. The colonists had fought a war so that each colony would retain its rights to do as it pleased, especially in the area of taxation. They certainly were not looking for much change in their present government. They were not looking to have a stronger national government that could interfere directly with what went on inside each state. They also did not want a government outside the borders of their state to interfere directly in the lives of each individual.

Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of Loyalists had to make the transition to adjusting to life after the war. For various reasons, over 100,000 Loyalists left America. Nearly one-third moved to Canada. Over 100,000 blacks also left with the British ships. These people had to find new homes and start their lives anew. Many never could shake away their memories of what had been and what might have been. Many also found that they were not accepted in the new communities where they settled. Even those who moved to England were often not welcomed. They were people without a home. These people spent much of the rest of their lives in misery and isolation. Hundreds of thousands of other Loyalists did not leave. They stayed put or moved to other communities. They had to adjust to life without a Parliament, a king and being subjects of the king. They were quite concerned about what would occur to bring order in the states.

While on paper the confederation seemed to be working, in reality there were many troubles. There were disputes between the states on border boundaries. States used different money systems, and this practice made business among them difficult. States did not accept each others' laws or regulations. They refused to collect enough taxes to pay for the operation of the central government, which was bankrupt. It could not pay its war debts and expenses of its leaders. Nor could it raise money for an army or navy to defend itself. It also had a difficult time helping states settle the problems among them. There was great danger that the confederation would end. If this had happened, American would have been a territory with at least thirteen independent nations similar to Europe. If something was not done immediately, the United States as one nation would have existed only in memory.

During these times, a few people had a strong national vision. This vision was of a single nation with its own culture and of a united people who would take charge of the resources of the land to make America a great nation. Noah Webster, for instance, proposed an American English dictionary so that words were defined as in Americans' terms. Others saw the elimination of a social hierarchy and aristocratic class. To them, the potential for America could only happen if the states worked together under a strong national government.

There were a growing number of events that increased the problems within states, between states and between the states and the central government. Many people began feeling uncomfortable because the future was more uncertain than ever before. Although they had won the war and liked some of the benefits of independence, they were just beginning to deal with many of the problems of independence. Some were as scared about the future after the war as they had been about the future before the war. Shay's Rebellion helped many to see that something had to be done soon.

The legislatures of the states decided to send representatives to a meeting in Philadelphia to revise the Articles of Confederation. They wanted to make changes in the national government without giving up much of their sovereignty. This meeting, the Philadelphia Convention is also known as the Constitutional Convention. The delegates decided that everything they did would be done in secret. No one outside the delegates were to be told what was occurring. They then decided that what was needed was an entirely new form of government. They did not think a confederation was strong enough to allow the nation to continue and prosper. From that moment on, they spent their time inventing the government they thought Americans needed. They developed a federal-republic form of government, a government unlike any that had ever existed. They then wrote a constitution which described this new government. If accepted, this new Constitution would dramatically change the way most Americans thought the nation should be governed. They knew it would be difficult to convince Americans to accept the government they wanted.

People were shocked when the delegates to the convention announced the results of their meeting. They were told that the confederation should be replaced by a strong central government. They were told that the United States needed to be a single nation rather than a confederation of separate nations and that the new government would have the right to tax people in every state without the consent of the state legislatures. In fact many of the concepts they were asked to accept were what many people fought the war against.

Over the next several months, the decision to approve the new Constitution took place in each state. The debates were long and intense. A larger portion of the population was involved in direct discussion about government and political ideas than at any time in our nation's history. Arguments for and against the new government were heard everywhere. Supporters of the Constitution were called Federalists. Those against it were called Antifederalists. Every reason the Antifederalists gave against the new government was met with a counter reason by the Federalists.

One issue that concerned the Antifederalists was that there was no Bill of Rights which listed liberties and rights all citizens would be guaranteed under the new government. The Federalists finally agreed that this was needed. When this happened, the Antifederalists grew more willing to accept the new Constitution. Eventually enough states approved the proposed Constitution so that it would be the blueprint for a national government. With its approval, the United States of America became a single nation. This nation was based on the notion that it was a government created by the people and for the people. This meant that the people, not the states, had accepted this government and that it was to operate for the benefit of them—not the states. With the Bill of Rights, the people were guaranteed certain liberty and rights.

There is some disagreement as to whether there was an American Revolution. Some compare the bloodshed and suddenness of the French and Russian Revolution with the American Revolution and say what happened in America was not a revolution. These people confuse the fighting with the revolution. Americans had to find a way to make sure that what they valued most—their liberty and rights—were protected.

QUESTIONS:

1. From 1783 to 1788 the United States consisted of thirteen independent nations. What are at least four problems that arose because the states acted as independent nations?

2. What is the definition of a national vision?

3. When the delegates to the Philadelphia convention announced the results of its meetings, what did the majority of people expect to hear?

4. When the delegates to the Philadelphia convention announced the results of its meetings, what were at least three of their objectives?

5. What were at least five strong arguments against approving the new government?

6. What were at least five strong arguments in favor of the new government?

7. What is the Bill of Rights?

8. How did the issue of including a Bill of Rights help ensure the passage of the new Constitution?

9. Imagine you had lived during 1788. Imagine you had heard the discussions about the formation of a new government. Imagine you had the chance to vote for or against this new Constitution. What would your vote have been? What reasons can you give to justify your decision?

10. For you, what was the American Revolution?

11. What role did the war against Britain play in the American Revolution?

STUDENT RESOURCE 6-C

Noteworthy Quotations: Are We to Be a Nation?

This exercise provides quotations illustrative of the various moods and feelings in the period just before and after the Constitutional Convention of 1787. You should be able to interpret each quotation in the context of the person and situation within which the words were stated.

"I have the honor of surrendering into the hands of Congress the trust which you have given me. . . . Having completed the work assigned to me, I retire from the great theater of action. . . . I return my commission and take leave of public life."

George Washington upon his retirement as commander of the Continental army

"November in London, dark, heavy fog. No wonder British people hand themselves. I spend my days in a dream, thinking of the little cottage I left behind. . . . This is [my new] home, our Mother Country, yet we're aliens here."

Diary entry of one of the Loyalists who fled to England after the war

"The object now is to make our independence work. To do this, we must secure our union on solid foundations. It's a job for Hercules, for we must level mountains of prejudice."

Alexander Hamilton, member of the Continental Congress, on the work to be done by the congress, 1786

"We've been children long enough. We must unshackle our minds and begin to act like independent beings. Let's not waste our lives mimicking our parents from other nations. We now have our own empire to defend and a national character to develop."

Noah Webster, writer of first American dictionary, on what Americans needed to do, 1786

"We have a shadow of a federal government, where thirteen petty republics must agree on every point of every measure the Union wants to execute. The result? Nothing happens. The states have brought the wheels of national government to a standstill."

Alexander Hamilton in a letter to George Washington, 1786

"I was as strong a believer in popular government as any man in America, but it is rapidly becoming the last kind of government I should choose. I'd even prefer a limited monarchy at this time. Better the whims of one man than the ignorance and passions of the mob!"

Noah Webster after Shay's Rebellion of 1786

"The big problem will be the degree of authority which the federal government will have over the states."

James Madison's concern about the major problem he believed that the delegates had to resolve, 1787

"I smell a rat!"

Patrick Henry on the secrecy around the meetings of the Philadelphia Convention, 1787

"The biggest danger to our rights today is not from governments acting against the will of the majority, but from government which has become the mere instrument of this majority. Think about it. That's where the abuse of power comes from. Not the tyranny of the king, but the tyranny of the majority."

James Madison's concern about governments giving in too much to the decisions of the majority, 1787

"Everything now depends on the incalculable fluctuations of human passions. We'll know in several months whether it is yes or no."

Alexander Hamilton's remarks concerning the passage of the proposed Constitution after it was sent to the states for ratification, 1787

"The President can be re-elected every four years for life! Even if he loses an election, he still controls the army! So how will you get him off the throne?"

Thomas Jefferson's criticism of one feature of the government under the new Constitution, 1787

"Yes, this is new. Yes, it's never been tried before. Many things Americans have done, we've never tried before."

James Madison's remarks to critics about the newness of the form of government proposed under the new Constitution

"This isn't something we should rush. This is very important. I came here to learn, and I find I'm learning more every day. We should continue this debate. We shouldn't simply have the vote."

Samuel Adams during the discussion of the new Constitution in Massachusetts to prevent the Antifederalists from voting to reject it, 1787

"Why not have a bill of rights? Why not a short document saying our rights are preserved? Are you worried that it will use up too much paper?"

Patrick Henry on the matter of including the Bill of Rights with the Constitution, 1787

SELECTED REFERENCES

References concerning the entire American Revolutionary War era or specific events or sources during this era that warrant special attention.

The American Revolution: Opposing viewpoints. 1992. San Diego, Calif.: Greenhaven Press.

Andrews, Charles M. 1931. *The colonial background of the American Revolution.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Bailyn, Bernard. 1965. *Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750-1776.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press.

—. 1967. *The ideological origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

—. 1990. *Faces of revolution: Personalities and themes in the struggle for American independence.* New York: A. A. Knopf.

Becker, Carl. 1942. *The Declaration of Independence: A study in the history of political ideas.* New York: Random House.

Beloff, Max, ed. 1960. *The debate on the American Revolution, 1761-1783: A sourcebook.* New York: Harper and Row.

Bennett, Peter S. 1970. *What happened on Lexington Green?: An inquiry into the nature and methods of history.* Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

Billington, Ray Allen. 1966. *The historian's contribution to Anglo-American misunderstanding: Report of a committee on national bias in Anglo-American history textbooks.* New York: Hobbs, Dorman.

Boatner, Mark Mayo. 1994. *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution.* 3d ed. Mechanicsburg, Penn.: Stackpole Books.

Boorstin, Daniel . 1958. *The Americans: The colonial experience.* New York: Random House.

Breen, T. H., ed. 1996. *The power of words: Documents in American history.* Vol. 1, *To 1877.* New York: Harper Collins.

Brinton, Crane. 1965. *The anatomy of a revolution.* New York: Vintage Books.

Brown, Richard C., ed. 1992. *Major problems in the era of the American Revolution, 1760-1791.* Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath.

Buchanan, John. 1997. *The road to Guilford Courthouse: The American Revolution in the Carolinas.* New York: Wiley.

Faragher, John Mack, ed. 1990. *The encyclopedia of colonial and revolutionary America.* New York: Facts on File.

Fischer, David Hackett. 1994. *Paul Revere's ride.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Flexner, James Thomas. 1974. *George Washington: The indispensable man.* Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

Flexner, Stuart Berg. 1976. *I hear America talking: An illustrated treasury of American words and phrases.* New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Foot, Michael, and Isaac Kramnick. 1987. *Thomas Paine reader.* New York: Penguin Books

Fowler, Lillian M. 1997. *Sam Adams: Radical Puritan.* New York: Longman.

Garraty, John A. 1991. *Historical viewpoints: Notable articles from* American heritage. Vol. 1, *To 1977.* 6th ed. New York: Harper Collins.

Greene, Jack P. 1995. *Understanding the American Revolution: Issues and actors.* Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia.

Greene, Jack P., and J. R. Pole, eds. 1991. *The Blackwell encyclopedia of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.

Gross, Robert A. 1977. *The minutemen and their world.* 6th ed. New York: Hill and Wang.

Henretta, James A., and Gregory H. Nobles, eds. 1987. *Evolution and revolution: American society, 1600—1820.* Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath.

Hoffer, Peter Charles.1986. *Liberty or order: Two views of American history from the revolutionary crisis to the early works of George Bancroft and Wendell Phillips.* New York: Garland.

—, ed. 1988. *A rage for liberty: Selected articles on the immediate causes of the American Revolution.* New York: Garland.

Hooker, Richard J., ed. 1970. *The American Revolution: The search for meaning.* New York: John Wiley.

Jensen, Merrill, ed. 1967. *Tracts of the American Revolution 1763-1776.* New York: Bobbs-Merrill.

—. 1968. *The founding of a nation: A history of the American Revolution 1763-1776.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Kidder, Frederic. 1870. *History of the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770; Consisting of the narrative of the town, the trial of the soldiers: And a historical introduction.* Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell.

Kurtz, Stephen G., and James H. Hutson. 1973. *Essays on the American Revolution.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press.

Larabee, Benjamin W. 1964. *The Boston Tea Party.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Leach, Douglas. 1973. *Arms for empire: A military history of the British colonies in North America.* New York: Macmillan.

Lukes, Bonnie L. 1996. *The American Revolution.* San Diego, Calif.: Lucent Books.

Maier, Pauline. 1972. *From resistance to revolution: Colonial radicals and the development of American opposition to Britain, 1765-1776.* New York: A. A. Knopf.

McDowell, Bart. 1967. *The Revolutionary War: America's fight for freedom.* Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society.

Meltzer, Milton. 1987. *The American revolutionaries: A history in their own words,* 1750-1800. New York: Crowell.

Morgan, Edmund Sears, ed. 1965. *The American Revolution: Two centuries of interpretation.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

—. 1992. *The birth of the republic, 1763-89.* 3d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Morrison, Samuel Eliot. 1965. *Sources and documents illustrating the American Revolution (1764-1788) and the formation of the federal Constitution.* 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

—, ed. 1972. *The Oxford history of the American people.* 2 vols. Reprint. New York: Penguin Books.

Penner, Lucille Recht. 1997. *The liberty tree: The beginning of the American Revolution.* New York: Random House.

Power, M. Susan. 1984. *Before the convention: Religion and the founders.* New York: University Press of America.

Purvis, Thomas L. 1995. *Revolutionary America, 1763-1800.* New York: Facts on File.

Rankin, Hugh F. 1965. *The American Revolution.* New York: Capricorn Books.

Ravitch, Diane, ed. 1990. *The American reader: Words that moved a nation.* New York: Harper Collins.

The revolutionary war: Gallery of images on CD-ROM for Macintosh. 1993. Silver Springs, Md.: Fife and Drum Software.

Rights and controversies in the changing world of 1776: High school materials. n.d. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Rogers, Alan. 1974. *Empire and liberty: American resistance to British authority, 1755-1763.* Berkeley and Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California Press.

Shalhope, Robert E. 1990. *The roots of democracy: American thought and culture, 1760-1800.* Boston: Twayne.

Smith, Carter, ed. 1991. *The Revolutionary War: A sourcebook on colonial America.* Brookfield, Conn.: Millbrook Press.

Smith, Page. 1976. *A new age now begins: A people's history of the American Revolution.* 2 vols. New York: McGraw Hill.

Vaughan, Alden T., ed. 1965. *Chronicles of the American Revolution, originally compiled by Hezekiah Niles.* New York: Grosset and Dunlap.

White, Lee M. 1975. *The American Revolution in notes, quotes and anecdotes.* A Sedgewick Archives Book. Fairfax, Va.: J. B. Prince.

Wills, Garry. 1984. *Cincinnatus: George Washington and the enlightenment.* Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday.

Wilstach, Paul, ed. 1925. *Correspondence of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson (1812-1826).* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.

Wood, Gordon S. 1969. *The creation of the American Republic: 1776-1787.* New York: W. W. Norton.

—. 1992. *The radicalism of the American Revolution.* New York: A. A. Knopf.

Wright, Esmond. [1964] 1978. *Fabric of freedom, 1763-1800.* Reprint. New York: Hill and Wang.

—, ed. 1966. *Causes and consequences of the American Revolution.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books.

—, ed. 1983. *The fire of liberty.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

—. 1995. *The search for liberty: From origins to independence.* Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.

Young, Alfred F., and Terry J. Fife. 1992. *We the people: Voices and images of the new nation.* Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press.

References emphasizing the viewpoints of the Crown, the British and Loyalists during the revolutionary era

Balderston, Marion, and Syrett Balderston, eds. 1975. *The lost war: Letters from British officers during the American Revolution.* New York: Horizon Press.

Brown, Wallace. 1969. *The good Americans: The Loyalists in the American Revolution.* New York: William Morrow.

Christie, Ian R., and Benjamin W. Labaree. 1976. *Empire or independence: 1760-1776: A British-American dialogue on the coming of the American Revolution.* New York: W. W. Norton.

Crary, Catherine. 1973. *The price of loyalty: Tory writings from the revolutionary era.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Fischer, David Hackett. 1989. *Albion's seed: Four British folkways in America.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Hibbert, Christopher. 1990. *Redcoats and rebels: The American Revolution through British eyes*. New York: Avon Books.

Kallich, Martin, and Andrew MacLeish. 1962. *The American Revolution through British Eyes*. New York: Harper and Row.

Lunt, W. E. 1957. *History of England*. 4th ed. New York: Harper and Row.

Oliver, Peter. 1961. *Peter Oliver's origin and progress of the American rebellion: A Tory view*. Edited by Douglas Adair and John A. Schutz. San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library.

Onuf, Peter S., ed. 1991. *Patriots, redcoats, and Loyalists*. New York: Garland.

Pearson, Kenneth, and Patricia Connor. *1976. 1776: The British story of the American Revolution*. London: London Times Newspapers.

Reich, Jerome R. 1997. *British friends of the American Revolution*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

Scott, Hamish M. 1990. *British foreign policy in the age of the American Revolution*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Thomas, Peter David Garner. 1992. *Revolution in America: Britain and the colonies 1763-1776*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Women and the Revolution

Aiken, L. 1975. Patriots in petticoats. *National Geographic* 148 (4): 475-93.

Berkin, C., comp. *Women in the American Revolution*. Jackdaw, no. A31. Amawalk, N.Y.: Golden Owl Publishing.

Blumenthal, Walter Hart. [1952] 1974. *Women camp followers of the American Revolution*. Reprint. New York: Arno Press.

Clapp, Patricia. 1977. *I'm Deborah Sampson, a soldier in the war of the American Revolution*. New York.: Lothrup, Lee and Sheperd.

Depauw, Linda Grant. 1975. *Founding mothers: Women in America in the revolutionary era*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Eisenberg, B. n.d. *Women in colonial and revolutionary America, 1607-1790*. Chevy Chase, Md.: Mid-Atlantic Equity Center.

Engle, Paul. 1976. *Women in the American Revolution*. Chicago, Ill.: Follett.

Mann, Herman. 1972. *The female review: Life of Deborah Sampson, the female soldier in the war of the Revolution*. New York: Arno Press.

Norton, Mary Beth. 1980. *Liberty's daughters: The revolutionary experience of American women, 1750-1800*. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Co.

Blacks and the Revolution

African-Americans in eighteenth-century Virginia: High school materials. n.d. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Bakari, Harvey. 1997. *The African-American legacy before, during, and after the American Revolution*. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Bolster, Jeffrey W. 1997. *African-American seamen in the age of sail*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Christian, Charles M. 1995. *Black saga: The African-American experience*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Davis, Burke. 1976. *Black heroes of the American Revolution*. San Diego, Calif.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Kaplan, Sidney, and Emma Norgrady Kaplin. 1989. *The black presence in the era of the American Revolution*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Kolchin, Peter. 1993. *American slavery, 1619-1877*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Meltzer, Milton. 1984. *The black Americans: A history in their own words, 1619-1983*. Topeka, Kans.: Econo Clad Books.

Quarles, Benjamin. 1996. *The Negro in the American Revolution*. Reprint. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Sharrow, V. 1991. *Phyllis Wheatley*. Jacksonville, Ill.: Perma-Bound Books.

Walling, Richard S. 1994. *Men of color at the Battle of Monmouth*. Hightstown, N.J.: Longstreet House

Native Americans and the Revolution

Graymount, Barbara. 1972. *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press.

McClard, Megan. 1989. *Hiawatha and the Iroquois League*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Silver Burdett Press.

References primarily about the military or military-related matters

Atwood, Rodney. 1980. *The Hessians, mercenaries from Hessen-Kassel in the American Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blumenthal, Walter Hart. 1994. *Women camp followers of the American Revolution*. Salem, N.H.: Ayer.

Bowman, Allen. 1964. *The morale of the American revolutionary army*. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press.

Clapp, Patricia. 1977. *I'm Deborah Sampson, a soldier in the war of the American Revolution.* New York: Lothrup, Lee and Sheperd.

Dohla, Johann C. 1990. *A Hessian diary of the American Revolution.* Translated and edited by B. E. Burgoyne. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press.

Edgar, Gregory T. 1994. *Liberty or death! The northern campaigns in the American Revolutionary War.* Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books.

—. 1995. *Campaign of 1776: The road to Trenton.* Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books.

Galvin, John R. 1989. *The minutemen: The first fight: Myths and realities of the American Revolution.* Washington, D.C.: Pergamon-Brassey.

Gipson, Lawrence H. 1936-70. *The British Empire before the American Revolution.* 15 vols. New York: A. A. Knopf.

Gross, Robert A. 1977. *The minutemen and their world.* 6th ed. New York: Hill and Wang.

Higginbotham, Donald. 1971, updated 1983. *The war of American independence: Military attitudes, policies, and practice 1763-1789.* New York: Macmillan.

Ketchum, Richard. 1973. *The winter soldiers.* Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday.

—. 1974. *Decisive day: The Battle of Bunker Hill.* Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday.

Leach, Douglas. 1973. *Arms for empire: A military history of the British colonies in North America.* New York: Macmillan.

Leckie, Robert. 1992. *George Washington's war.* New York: Harper Collins.

Lumpkin, Henry. 1981. *From Savannah to Yorktown: The American Revolution in the South.* Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press.

Mackesy, Piers. 1964. *The war for America: 1775-1783.* London: Longman.

Mahon, John K. 1958. Anglo-American methods of Indian warfare. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 45 (2): 254-75.

Martin, Joseph Plumb. 1968. *Private Yankee Doodle, being a narrative of some of the adventures, dangers and sufferings of a revolutionary soldier.* Edited by George F. Scheer. New York: The New York Times and Arno Press.

McCarty, Thomas. 1964. *The Revolutionary War journal of Sergeant Thomas McCarty.* Edited by Jared C. Lobdell. Proceedings, 82. Newark, N.J.: New Jersey Historical Society.

Middlekauff, Robert. 1982. *The glorious cause: The American Revolution (1763-1789).* New York: Oxford University Press.

Peckham, Howard H., ed. 1974. *The toll of independence: Engagements and battle casualties of the American Revolution.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Prechtel, Johann Ernst. 1994. *A Hessian officer's diary of the American Revolution.* Translated and edited by Bruce E. Burgoyne. Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books.

Ryan, Dennis P., ed. 1979. *A salute to courage: The American Revolution as seen through the wartime writings of officers of the Continental army and navy.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Shy, John W. 1990. *A people numerous and armed: Reflections on the military struggle for American independence.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press.

Simmons, Clara Ann. 1996. *John Paul Jones, American sailor.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press.

Thacher, James. 1994. *Eyewitness to the American Revolution: The battles and generals as seen by an army surgeon.* Stamford, Conn.: Longmeadow Press.

Tuchman: Barbara T. 1988. *The first salute: A view of the American Revolution.* New York: Ballantine Books.

Walling, Richard S. 1994. *Men of color at the Battle Of Monmouth.* Hightstown, N.J.: Longstreet House.

Wright, John W. 1924. The rifle in the American revolution. *American Historical Review* 29 (2): 293-99.

References that provide in-depth information on the concept of liberty and related political and philosophical concepts

Bailyn, Bernard. 1967. *The ideological origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press.

Berlin, Isaiah. 1958. *Two concepts of liberty.* London: Oxford University Press.

Boorstin, Daniel J. 1981. *The lost world of Thomas Jefferson.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Casteel, James D. 1965. *Professors and applied ethics: Higher education in a revolutionary era, 1750-1800.* Ph.D. diss., George Peabody College.

Devine, Francis Edward. 1975. Absolute democracy or indefeasible rights: Hobbes versus Locke, *Journal of Politics* 37 (3): 736-68.

Diggins, John Patrick. 1986. *The lost soul of American politics: Virtue, self-interest, and the foundations of liberalism.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Foot, Michael, and Kramnick, Isaac. 1987. *The Thomas Paine reader.* New York: Penguin Books.

Gerhart, Eugene C. 1986. *American liberty and natural law.* Littleton, Colo.: Fred B. Rothman.

Gough, John W. 1957. *The social contract.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Handlin, Oscar, and Mary Handlin. 1961. *The dimensions of liberty*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press.

Hofstadter, Richard. 1974. *The American political tradition—and the men who made it*. New York: Random House, Vintage Books.

Jensen, Merrill, ed. 1967. *Tracts of the American Revolution (1763-1776)*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill.

Jones, Robert V. 1956. *The challenge of liberty*. Chicago: Heritage Foundation.

Kammen, Michael. 1986. *Spheres of liberty: Changing perceptions of liberty in American culture*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press. 1988. *Sovereignty and liberty: Constitutional discourse in American culture*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press.

Maier, Pauline. 1997. *American scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence*. New York: A. A. Knopf.

Martin, Everett Dean. 1930. *Liberty*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Padover, Saul K. 1963. *The meaning of democracy: An appraisal of the American experience*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger.

Power, M. Susan. 1984. *Before the convention: Religion and the founders*. New York: University Press of America.

Reid, John Phillip. 1988. *The concept of liberty in the age of the American Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Spitz, David, ed. 1975. *John Stuart Mill on liberty: Annotated text sources and background criticism*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Vetterli, Richard, and Gary Bryner. 1987. *In search of the republic: Public virtue and the roots of American government*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield.

Webking, Robert H. 1988. *The American Revolution and the politics of liberty*. Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press.

Williams, Geraint. 1991. *Political theory in retrospect: From the ancient Greeks to the twentieth century*.

Wills, Garry. 1978. *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence*. New York: Doubleday.

Wright, Benjamin Fletcher, Jr. 1962. *American interpretations of natural law: A study in the history of political thought*. New York: Russell and Russell.

Zuckert, Michael P. 1994. *Natural rights and the new Republicanism*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

References emphasizing the post-war period, the founding of the republic and the construction and ratification of the Constitution

Banning, Lance. 1995. *The sacred fire of liberty: James Madison and the founding of the federal republic*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Bernstein, Richard B. with Kim S. Rice. 1987. *Are we to be a nation? The making of the Constitution*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

The Bill of Rights and beyond: 1791-1991. 1991. Washington, D.C.: The Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution.

Brock, William R. 1970. *The evolution of American democracy*. New York: Dial Press.

Brown, Richard C., ed. 1992. *Major problems in the era of the American Revolution (1760-1791)*. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath.

Clarke, J. C. D. 1994. *The language of liberty (1660-1832)*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lerner, Ralph. 1987. *The thinking revolutionary: Principle and practice in the new republic*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Patrick, John J., ed. 1995. *Founding the republic: A documentary history*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

Wood, Gordon S. 1969. *The creation of the American republic (1776-1787)*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Collections of reproductions of primary source materials on the American colonial experience and the American revolutionary era are available by writing to these sources.

American Antiquarian Society, 185 Salisbury Street, Room 122, Worcester, Mass. 01609-1634

The Brigade of the American Revolution, 27 Compton Avenue, Plainfield, N.J. 07063-1105.

Department of School and Group Services, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, P.O. Box 1776, Williamsburg, Va. 23187. Voice (757) 220-7582. Fax (757) 220-7708.

Fife and Drum Software, 316 Soapstone Lane, Silver Springs, Md. 20905

Grafton, John. 1975. *The American Revolution A Picture Sourcebook*. Mineola, N.Y.: Dover.

Jackdaw Publications, Division of Golden Owl Publishing, P. O. Box 503, Amawalk, N.Y. 10501. Voice (914) 962-6911 or (800) 789-0022. Fax (800) 962-9101. (See especially the Jackdaw Kits: *The American Revolution, Women in the American Revolution, The Emerging Nation 1783-1790, The Making of the Constitution and The Story of the Constitution*. See also Teaching with Historic Places Lesson Plans (THP): *Battle of Bunker Hill and Guilford Courthouse- -Pivotal Battle*.)

Primary Source Media, 12 Lunar Drive, Woodbridge, Conn. 06525-9934. Voice (800) 444-0799. Fax (203) 397-3893. (Ask for information on the *American Journey: The American Revolution* CD. This is a hybrid CD, usable for both Macintosh and Windows.)

National Archives Still Picture Branch, 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, Md. 20740-6001. Voice (301) 713-6625, ext. 234. Fax (301) 713-7436. (Ask for information on the George Washington Bicentennial Commission 1500-image collection, control no. NWDNS-148-GW from record group 148-GW.)

National Audiovisual Center, 5285 Port Royal Rd., Springfield, Va. 22161. Voice (800) 788-6282. Fax (703) 321-8457. (Ask for information on the National Archives's 140-slide series and booklet entitled "Pictures of the Revolutionary War" Order No. AVA18632SS00.)

Reference in regards to re-enactments

The Brigade of the American Revolution, 27 Compton Avenue, Plainfield, N.J. 07063-1105.

Smoke and Fire, a monthly newspaper about living history events such as re-enactments, pow-wows, rendezvous and exhibits. P. O. Box 166, Grand Rapids, Ohio 43522. Voice (800) 766-5334. $18 a year, $2 for sample issue.

Music of the revolutionary era

Brand, O. 1972. *Songs of '76: A folksinger's history of the Revolution*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott.

Marching into time. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. CD or cassette.

Military musick of the American Revolution. Cassette. Order directly from the Brigade of the American Revolution.

Rabson, C. 1974. *Songbook of the American Revolution*. Peaks Island, Maine: Neo Press.

Scott, J. A. 1966. *The ballads of America: The history of the United States in song and story*. New York: Bantam Books.

Songs of liberty. n.d. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Winstock, Lewis. 1970. *Songs and music of the redcoats: A history of the war music of the British army (1642-1902)*. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books.

Juvenile- and advanced-level historical fiction

Beatty, John, and Patricia Beatty. 1975. *Who comes to Kings Mountain*. New York: William Morrow.

Berleth, Richard. 1990. *Samuel's choice*. Niles, Ill.: Albert Whitman.

Berry, E. 1952. *Sybil Ludington's ride*. New York: Viking Press.

Boyd, James. 1925. Drums. New York: Scribner.

Cavanna, Betty. 1975. *Ruffles and drums*. New York: William Morrow.

Collier, Christopher, and James L. Collier. 1974. *My brother Sam is dead*. New York: Scholastic.

—. 1983. *War comes to Willy Freeman*. New York: Delacorte Press.

Edgar, Gregory T. 1995. *Are the Yankees cowards now? A story of Bunker* Hill. Ellington, Conn.: Gregory Edgar.

—. 1995. *Gone to meet the British*. Ellington, Conn.: Gregory Edgar.

Fast, Howard. 1961. *April morning*. New York: Bantam. 1972. *The Hessian*. New York: Morrow.

Finlayson, Ann. 1972. *Rebecca's war*. New York: Frederick Warne.

—. 1978. *The silver bullet*. New York: Thomas Nelson.

Fiore, Peter 1998. *The Boston Tea Party*. New York: Holiday House.

Forbes, Esther. 1969. *Johnny Tremain*. New York: Dell.

Fritz, Jean. 1967. *Early thunder*. New York: Putnam and Grosset Group

Graves, Robert. 1986. *Sergeant Lamb's America*. Chicago: Academy of Chicago Publishers.

Kirby, Philippa. 1993. *Glorious days, dreadful days: The Battle of Bunker Hill*. New York: Steck Vaughn.

O'Dell, Scott. 1980. *Sarah Bishop*. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin.

Page, Elizabeth. 1939. *The tree of liberty*. New York: Literary Guild.

Rinaldi, Ann. 1993. *The fifth of march, a story of the Boston Massacre*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace.

Roberts, Kenneth Lewis. 1952. *Oliver Wiswell*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.

—. 1989. *Rabble in arms*. Camden, Maine: Down East Books.

—. 1991. *Arundel*. Camden, Maine: Yankee Books.

For a brief summary of many of the historical fiction books listed above and other books not mentioned above, see: Coffey, Rosemary K., and Elizabeth F. Howard. 1997. *America as story: Historical fiction for Middle and secondary schools*. 2d edition. Chicago: American Library Association; *Books from the colonial period: An annotated bibliography of children's literature*. 1991. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Museums, specialized libraries, parks and historical sites associated with the American revolutionary era

The National Historical Park Service (NHPS) is www.nps.gov. Information on each park is available through this one site. Some NHPS sites have additional email addresses or are in process of getting additional email addresses. Current information on these are located below.

Adams National Historic Site, P.O. Box 531, Quincy, Mass. 02269-0531. Voice (617) 773-1177 or Visitors' Center Voice (617) 770-1175. Fax (617) 471-9683. Email: ADAM_INTERPRETATION@nps.gov Website: http://www.nps.gov/ADAM Contact: Caroline Keinath, Chief of Interpretation.

Boston African-American National Historic Site, National Park Service, 14 Beacon Street, Suite 506, Boston, Mass. 02108. Voice (617) 742-5415. Email: Kenneth_Heidelberg@nps.gov Website: http://www.nps.gov/BOAS Contact: Kenneth Heidelberg, Site Manager.

Boston National Historical Park, Interpretation Division, 1500 State Street, Boston, Mass. 02109-4543. Voice (617) 242-5688 or Visitors' Center Voice (617) 242-5642. Fax (617) 367-3539. Contact: Sheila Cooke-Kayser, Supervisory Park Manager; Sandy Norris, Administrative Officer.

Bostonian Society, 206 Washington Street, Boston, Mass. 02109-1773. Voice (617) 720-3285. Email: education@bostonhistory.org Website: http://www.bostonhistory.org Contact: Susan Gogavian, Education Director.

Bunker Hill Monument, Monument Square, Boston, Mass. 02109. Voice (617) 242-5641. Fax (617) 242-5621. Contact: Ethan Beeler. (This is part of the Boston National Historical Park, listed above.)

Carlyle House Historic Park, 121 North Fairfax Street, Alexandria, Va. 22314. Voice (703) 549-2997. Fax (703) 549-5738. Contact: Heidi Miller, Curator of Education.

Charles Towne Landing 1670, 1500th Old Towne Road, Charleston, S.C. 29407-6099. Voice (803) 852-4200. Fax (803) 852-4205. Email: ctl1670@juno.com Contact: Education Curator or Group Tour Coordinator

Charlestown Navy Yard, Boston, Mass. 02129. Voice (617) 242-5601. (This is part of the Boston National Historical Park, listed above.)

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, P.O. Box 1776, Williamsburg, Va. 23187. Voice (757) 565-8736. Fax (757) 220-7708. Website: http://www.history.org Contact: the Education Specialist

Cowpens National Battlefield, P.O. Box 308, Chesnee, S.C. 29323. Voice (864) 461-2828. Fax (864) 461-7077. Contact: J. Farrell Saunders, Superintendent.

David Library of the American Revolution, P.O. Box 748, Washington Crossing, Pa. 18977. Voice (215) 493-6776. Fax (215) 493-9276. Email: dlar@libertynet.org Website: http://www.libertynet.org:80/~dlar/dlar.html

Dorchester Heights, 1500 State Street, Thomas Park, Boston, Mass. 02109. Voice (617) 242-5642. Fax (617) 367-3539. (This is part of the Boston National Historical Park, listed above.)

Faneuil Hall, Deck Square, Boston, Mass. Voice (617) 242-5675. (This is part of the Boston National Historical Park, listed above.)

Fort Stanwix National Monument, 112 East Park Street, Rome, N.Y. 13440. Voice (315) 336-2090. Website: http://www.nps.gov/fost/index.html

Fort Ticonderoga, P.O. Box 390, Ticonderoga, N.Y. 12883. Voice (518) 585-2821. Fax (518) 585-2210.

Franklin Institute Science Museum, 222 North 20th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103-1194 Voice (215) 448-1200 or for group reservations (215) 448-1201. Fax (215) 448-1235. Website: http://www.fi.edu

Freedom Trail Tours. (This is part of the Boston National Historical Park, listed above.)

George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, 401 South Second Street, Vincennes, Ind. 47591. Voice (812) 882-1776. Fax (812) 882-7270. Website: http//www.nps.gov/gero. Contact: Frank Doughman, Chief Ranger.

George Washington Birthplace National Monument. R.R. 1, Box 717, Washington's Birthplace, Va. 22443. Voice (804) 224-1732. Fax (804) 224-2142. Email: gewaparkinformation@nps.gov Contact: John Frye, Supervisory Park Ranger.

George Washington's Mount Vernon Estate and Gardens. Mailing address: Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, P.O. Box 110, Mt. Vernon, Va. 22121. Voice (703) 780-2000. Website: www.mountvernon.org Contact: Education Department

Georgia Historical Society, 501 Whitaker Street, Savannah, Ga. 31499. Voice (912) 651-2125. Fax (912) 651-2831. Email: gahist@ix.netcom.com Website http://www.savannah-online/ghs Contact: Octavia Starbuck, Education Coordinator.

Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, 2332 New Garden Road, Greensboro, NC 27410-2355. Voice (910) 288-1776. Fax (910) 282-2296. Email: guco.administration@nps.gov Contact: Tom Baker.

Gunston Hall, The Home of George Mason, 10709 Gunston Road, Mason Neck, Va. 22079. (703) 550-9220. Fax (703) 550-9480. Website: http://www.gunstonhall.org

Hamilton Grange National Memorial, 287 Convent Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10031. Voice (212) 283-5154.

Independence National Historical Park, 313 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19106. Voice (215) 597-8974. Website: http://www.libertynet.org/~inhp

Kings Mountain National Military Park, P.O. Box 40, Kings Mountain, N.C. 28086. (n.b. Although the mailing address is N.C., the park and battlefield are in S.C.) Voice (864) 936-7921. Fax (864) 936-9897. Website: http://www.nps.gov/kimo

Lexington Historical Society, P.O. Box 154, Lexington, Mass. 02173. Voice (781) 862-1703. Fax (781) 862-4920. Contact: Christine Ellis, Office Manager.

Massachusetts Historical Society (This is a private research library housing official government material), 1154 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. 02215. Voice (617) 536-1608. Fax (617) 859-0074. Email: library@masshist.org Website: http://www.masshist.org Contact: Jennifer Tolpa, Research Librarian.

Minute Man National Historical Park, 174 Liberty Street, Concord, Mass. 01742. Voice (978) 369-6993. Fax (978) 371-2483.

Monticello, Home of Thomas Jefferson, P.O. Box 316, Charlottesville, Va. 22902. Voice (804) 984-9822. Website: http://www.monticello.org Contact: Robin Gabriel, Director of Education.

Moores Creek National Battlefield, P.O. Box 69, Currie, N.C. 28435. Voice (910) 283-5591. Fax (910) 283-5351. Website: http://www.nps.gov/mocr Contact: Linda Brown, Team Leader.

Morristown National Historical Park, Washington Place, Morristown, N.J. 07960. Voice (973) 539-2085. Fax (973) 539-8361. Website: http://www.nps.gov Contact: Ranger Tom Winslow, Education Specialist.

National Infantry Museum, Bldg. 396, Baltzell Avenue, Fort Benning, Ga. 31905. Voice (706) 545-2958. Contact: Frank Hanner.

National Park Service Visitor Center, 1500 State Street, Boston Mass. 02109. Voice (617) 242-5642. (This office, part of the Boston National Park which is listed above, includes details on Boston's Freedom Trail and other lesser known sites in and around Boston such as the site of the Boston Massacre, the Boston Tea Party, the Boston Common and the cemeteries where James Otis, John Hancock, William Dawes, Samuel Adams, Crispus Attucks and others were killed in the Boston Massacre.)

Ninety Six National Historic Site, P.O. Box 496 , Ninety Six, S.C. 29666. Voice (864) 543-4068. Fax (864) 543-2038. Contact: Myrna Williams, Park Ranger; Eric Williams, Site Manager.

Old Dorchester State Park, 300 State Park Road, Summerville, S.C. 29485. Voice (803) 734-1740. Fax (same as voice number). Contact : Superintendent or Archeologist.

Old North Church, 103 Salem Street, Boston, Mass. Voice (617) 523-6676. (This is part of the Boston National Historical Park, listed above.)

Old South Meeting House, 310 Washington Street, Boston, Mass. Voice (617) 482-6439. (This is part of the Boston National Historical Park, listed above.)

Old State House, 206 Washington Street, Boston, Mass. Voice (617) 720-3290. (This is part of the Boston National Historical Park, listed above.)

Paul Revere House, 19 North Square, Boston, Mass. Voice (617) 583-1676. (This is part of the Boston National Historical Park, listed above.)

Saratoga National Historical Park (Saratoga Battlefield), 648 Route 32, Stillwater, N.Y. 12170. Voice (518) 664-9821, ext. 224. Fax (518) 664-9830. Contact: Doug Lindsay, Superintendent (ext. 206).

Thomas Stone National Historic Site, 6655 Rose Hill Rd., Port Tobacco, Md. 20677. Voice (301) 934-6027. Fax (301) 934-8793. Administered by The George Washington Birthplace National Monument. Contact: Martha Walker, Site Manager.

U. S. Army Center of Military History, ATTN: DAMH—MD, 1099 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005-3402. Voice (202) 761-5373. Fax (202) 761-5444. Email: bennett@cmh-smtp.army.mil Website: http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/ Contact: Judson E. Bennett, Jr., Chief Curator.

U. S. Army Ordinance Museum, ATSL-DET-M, Building 2601, Aberdeen Proving Grounds, Md. 21005-5201 Voice (410) 278-3602. Fax (410) 278-7473. Contact: Dr. Jack Atwater, Director.

Valley Forge National Historical Park, P.O. Box 953, Valley Forge, Pa. 19482-0953. Voice (610) 783-1000. Fax (610) 783-1053.

Washington Crossing Park Historic (Park Library), P.O. Box 103, Washington Crossing, Pa. 18977. Voice (215) 493-4076. Fax (215) 493-4820. Contact: Pat Patrizio, Museum Educator (This is a library specializing on the American Revolution and is open by appointment only.)

West Point Museum, The United States Military Academy, Bldg. 2110, West Point, N.Y. 10996. Voice (914) 938-2203. Fax (914) 938-7478.

Yorktown Battlefield, Colonial National Historical Park, P.O. Box 210, Yorktown, Va. 23690. Voice (757) 898-3400. Fax (same as voice number). Website: http://www.nps.gov/colo

1770

, of America,

;bands which have connected them with another, and to
decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they
t men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator
ts, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just
ight of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new
st likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed,
sperience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while
rain of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object,
ent, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has
Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great
tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid
good. —— He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate
suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. —— He has refused to
of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable
ent from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into
ith manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. —— He has refused for
of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remain
He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstruc-
x, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. —— He has obstructed the
He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount
her swarms of Officers to harass our people and eat out their substance. —— He has kept among
ffected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. —— He has combined
our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: — For Quartering large bodies of
any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: — For cutting off
ent: — For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of Trial by Jury; — For transporting us beyond
us in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries
olute rule into these Colonies: —— For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws and
un Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.—
ging War against us. —— He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives
naries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy
a civilized nation. —— He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against
elves by their Hands. —— He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the
undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We
l. has repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant
them. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrant
... We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them
tions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of
e hold est of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends. ——
ing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our in
olonies are and of Right ought to be Free and Independent
l Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and
ll other Acts and Things which Independent
lly pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortun

Josiah Bartlett
Wm Whipple
Adams
Adam

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

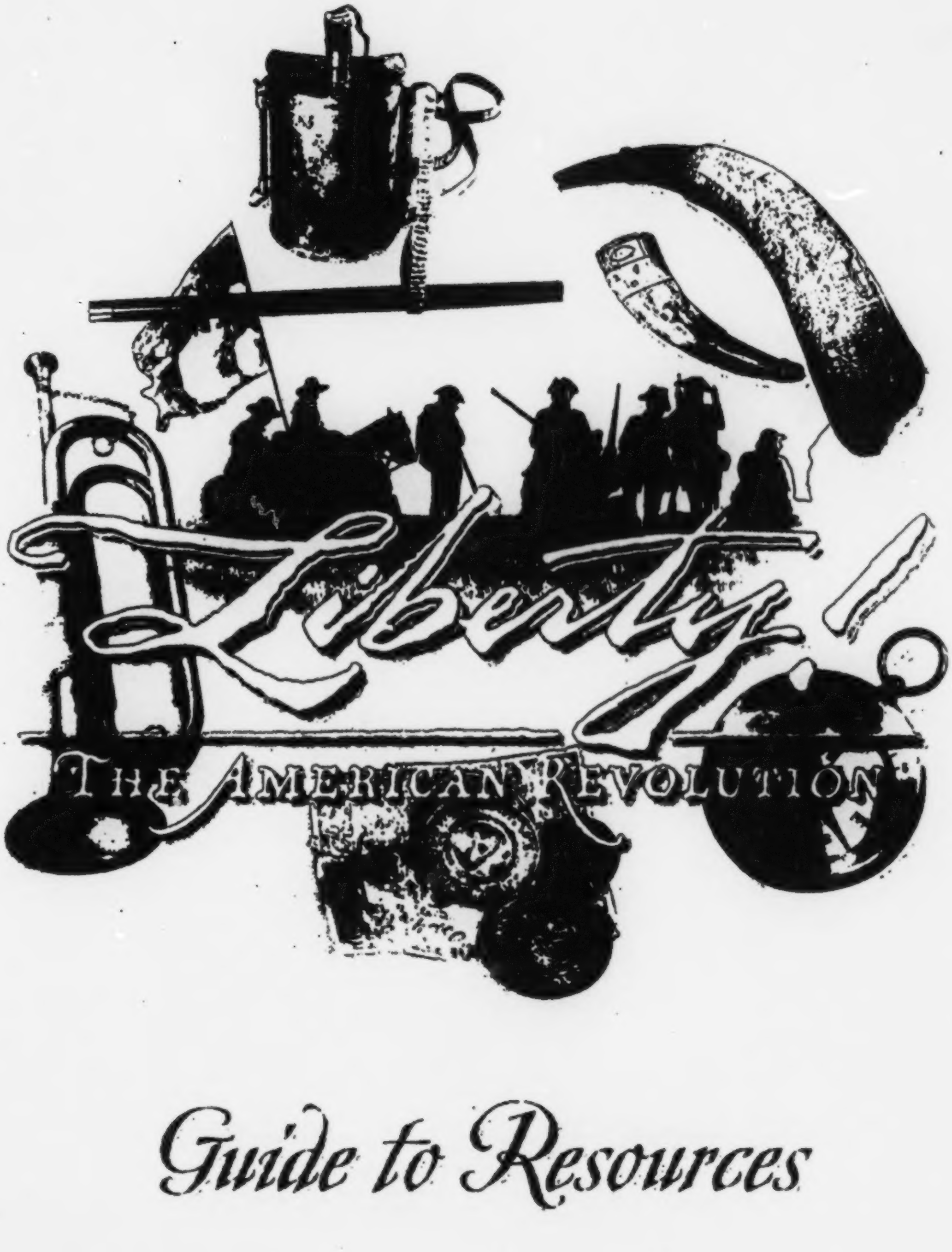
Funding for LIBERTY!
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
provided by Norwest Corporation.

To The Nth Degree

National Endowment for the Humanities
The Arthur Vining-Davis Foundations
The Eberly Foundation

PBS VIDEO

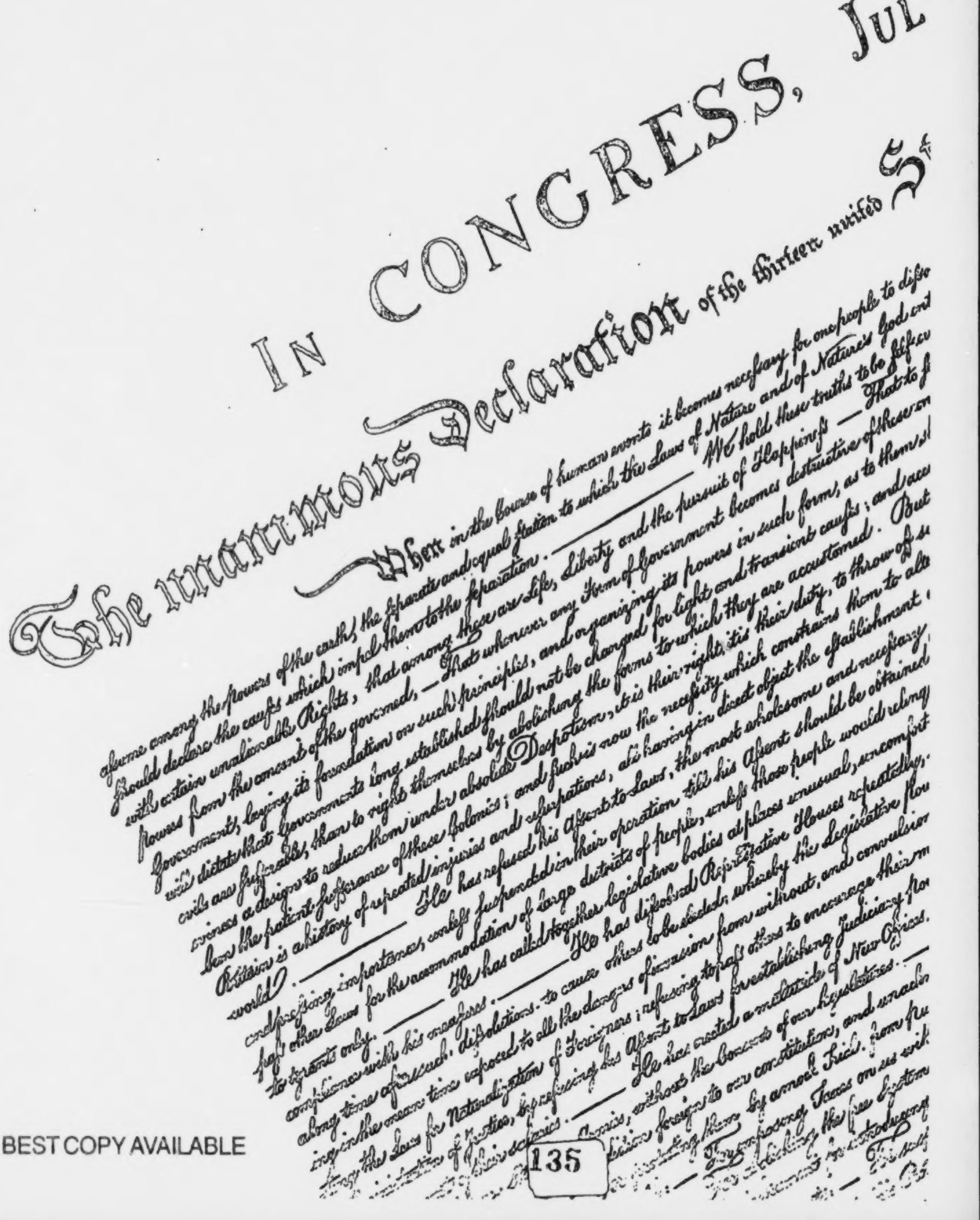
LIBERTY! THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
is a production of KTCA in association with Middlemarch Films


Liberty!
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Guide to Resources

PBS VIDEO

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



IN CONGRESS, JUL

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united St

When in the Course of human events it becomes neceſsary for one people to diſs
aſsume among the powers of the earth, the ſeparate and equal ſtation to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God ent
ſhould declare the cauſes which impel them to the ſeparation. —— We hold these truths to be ſelf-ev
with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the purſuit of Happineſs. — That to ſ
powers from the conſent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these en
Government, laying its foundation on ſuch principles, and organizing its powers in ſuch form, as to them ſh
will dictate that Governments long established ſhould not be changed for light and tranſient cauſes; and acc
evils are ſufferable, than to right themſelves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But
evinces a design to reduce them under abſolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off ſu
been the patient ſufferance of these Colonies; and ſuch is now the neceſsity which constrains them to alt
Britain is a history of repeated injuries and uſurpations, all having in direct object the establishment o
world. —— He has refuſed his Aſsent to Laws, the most wholesome and neceſsary
and preſsing importance, unleſs ſuspended in their operation till his Aſsent ſhould be obtained
paſs other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unleſs those people would relinq
to tyrants only. —— He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfort
compliance with his meaſures. —— He has diſsolved Repreſentative Houses repeatedly,
along time after such diſsolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative pow
ing in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invaſion from without, and convulsion
ting the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refuſing to paſs others to encourage their m
istration of Justice, by refuſing his Aſsent to Laws for establishing Judiciary pow
their ſalaries. —— He has erected a multitude of New Offices.
Armies, without the Consent of our legislatures. ——
diction foreign to our constitution, and unackn
protecting them, by a mock Trial, from pu
— For impoſing Taxes on us wit
abolishing the free System
instrument for introducing

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Liberty!

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Guide to Resources

FOR INQUIRY INTO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY ERA

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PBS VIDEO

Liberty!

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

DEVELOPER AND EDITOR

Robert J. Stahl
Social Studies Education
Arizona State University
Box 871911
Tempe, AZ 85287-1911

CONTRIBUTORS

Peter Petard
Cynthia Burns
Glenene Brown
William Fetsko
School and Group Services
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
Box 1776
Williamsburg, VA 23187

Nancy N. Stahl (also Assistant to the Editor)
Gifted Education Specialist
Arizona Department of Education
1535 West Jefferson Street
Phoenix, AZ 85007

Linda Miller
Social Studies Department
Fairfax High School
3500 Old Lee Highway
Fairfax, VA 22030

Peter D.G. Thomas
Professor of History
The University of Wales
Penglais-Aberystwyth
Ceredigion SY23 3DY
United Kingdom

Jean Price
Social Studies Department
T. H. Rogers School
5840 San Felipe
Houston, TX 77057

Michael G. Sams
Social Studies Teacher
Lafayette High School
4460 Longhill Road
Williamsburg, VA 23188

James A. Percoco
Social Studies Department
West Springfield High School
6100 Rolling Road
Springfield, VA 22152

Ronald L. Torretto
Social Studies Department
Grossmont High School
1100 Murray Drive
La Mesa, CA 91944

Michael Adessa
Graduate Research Assistant
Social Studies Education
Arizona State University
Tempe, AZ 85287-1911

Randy Mitchell
Chobya Middle School
Santa Clara County Schools
San Jose, CA 95111

REVIEWERS

Dean S. Cristol
Department of Educational Curriculum
and Instruction
Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, OH 43403-0252

Ray E. Wong
Department of Teacher Education
1304 University Circle
Weber State University
Ogden, UT 84408-1304

COPY EDITOR

Heidi Vierow

PBS VIDEO
1320 Braddock Place • Alexandria, VA 22314-1698 • 1-800-344-3337

All print materials© Public Broadcasting Service, 1997
PBS VIDEO is a department of the Public Broadcasting Service. PBS VIDEO*index*® is a trademark of the Public Broadcasting Service.

TABLE OF
Contents

INTRODUCTION 1

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY AND LEARNING 3

KEY VOCABULARY 5

GLOSSARY 7

TABLE OF RESOURCES 11

DESCRIPTION OF RESOURCES AND SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES 15

280
20
40
NE
S

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Guide to Resources

FOR INQUIRY INTO
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY ERA

This booklet guides teachers' use of the large number of hands-on, reproducible materials in the RESOURCE PACKET. These resources consist of historic letters, documents, resolutions and quotations and help students investigate a number of issues, events and ideas relevant to the revolutionary era. The materials complement the videos in the LIBERTY! THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION series, but teachers may also use them independently of the series to accompany a textbook or outside units. Middle level and secondary teachers from across the United States report that these materials can be used in classrooms with success. Although some resources are more appropriate for high school students, many middle school students can comprehend these resources and complete many of the activities. Teachers should feel free to modify materials as needed and use them in any order.

This GUIDE TO RESOURCES is divided into the following five parts:

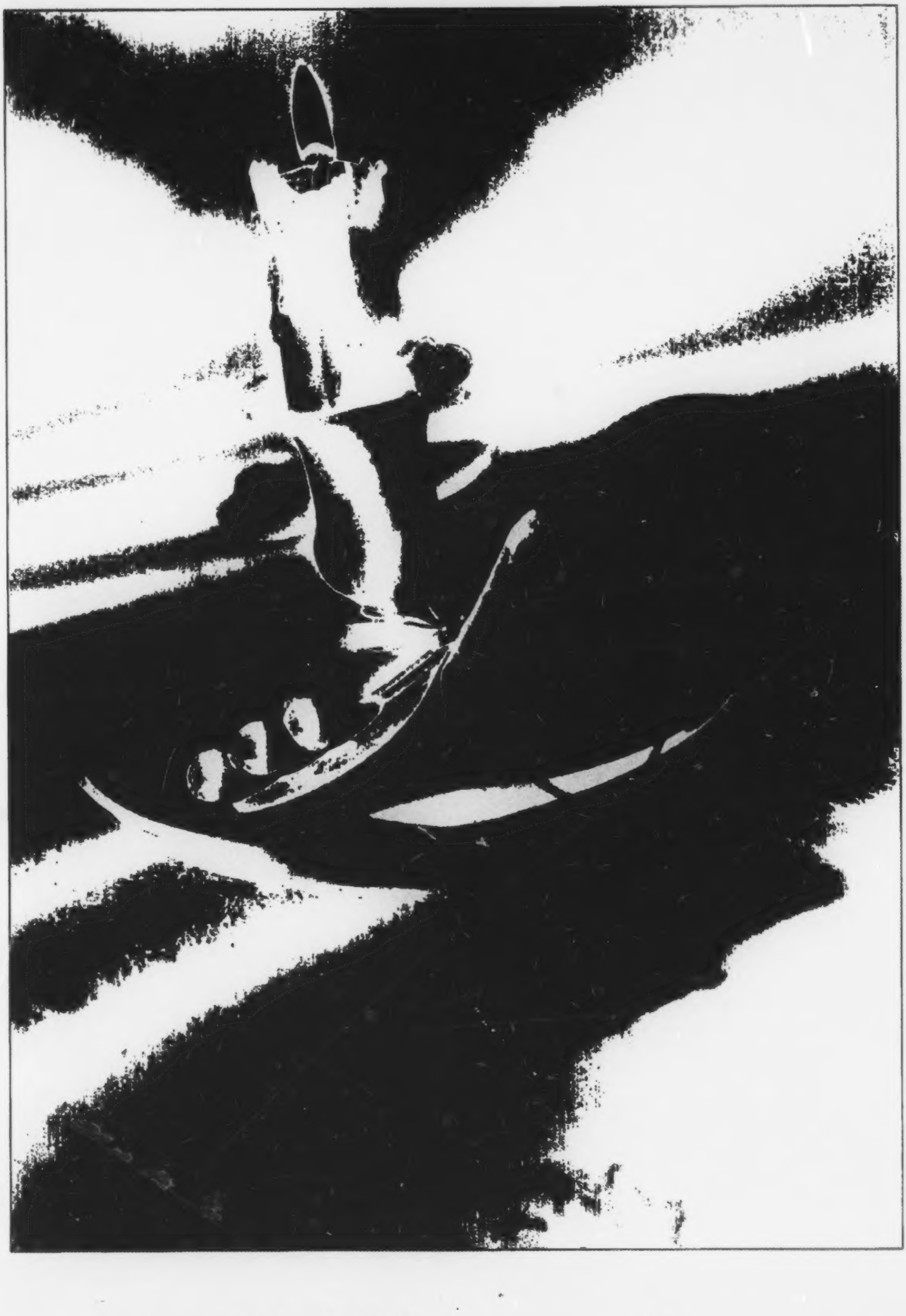
1. **Questions to Guide Inquiry.** These questions direct students' inquiry into specific aspects of this era. They suggest ways to focus students' historical investigations.

2. **Key Vocabulary.** This section provides a list of vocabulary terms that are relevant to comprehending the issues, events and conditions during this period. It does not include all the vocabulary that are identified with the separate videos in the TEACHER'S GUIDE.

3. **Glossary.** This list of terms supplies definitions illustrated with examples from the revolutionary era.

4. **Table of Resources.** This table lists the number and name of all the resources in the RESOURCE PACKET along with an indicator of the one or more videos in the LIBERTY! video series related to the particular resource.

5. **Description of Resources and Suggested Activities.** This section numbers and names each resource, provides short descriptions of the resources and describes one or more suggested activities. Teachers are encouraged to develop their own activities and sequence for using these resources. This guide also suggests resources that complement each other and cross-references the resources to the SET OF GRAPHICS and the **Reference List** contained in the TEACHER'S GUIDE.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY AND LEARNING

The questions below may be used to begin an inquiry into the American revolutionary era, especially an exploration of the principal concepts and issues that contributed to the major changes in the American colonies from 1763 to 1789. These questions may also be used to complement those already raised in the classroom or to challenge students to explore different aspects of this era. Additional questions accompany each resource in the RESOURCE PACKET.

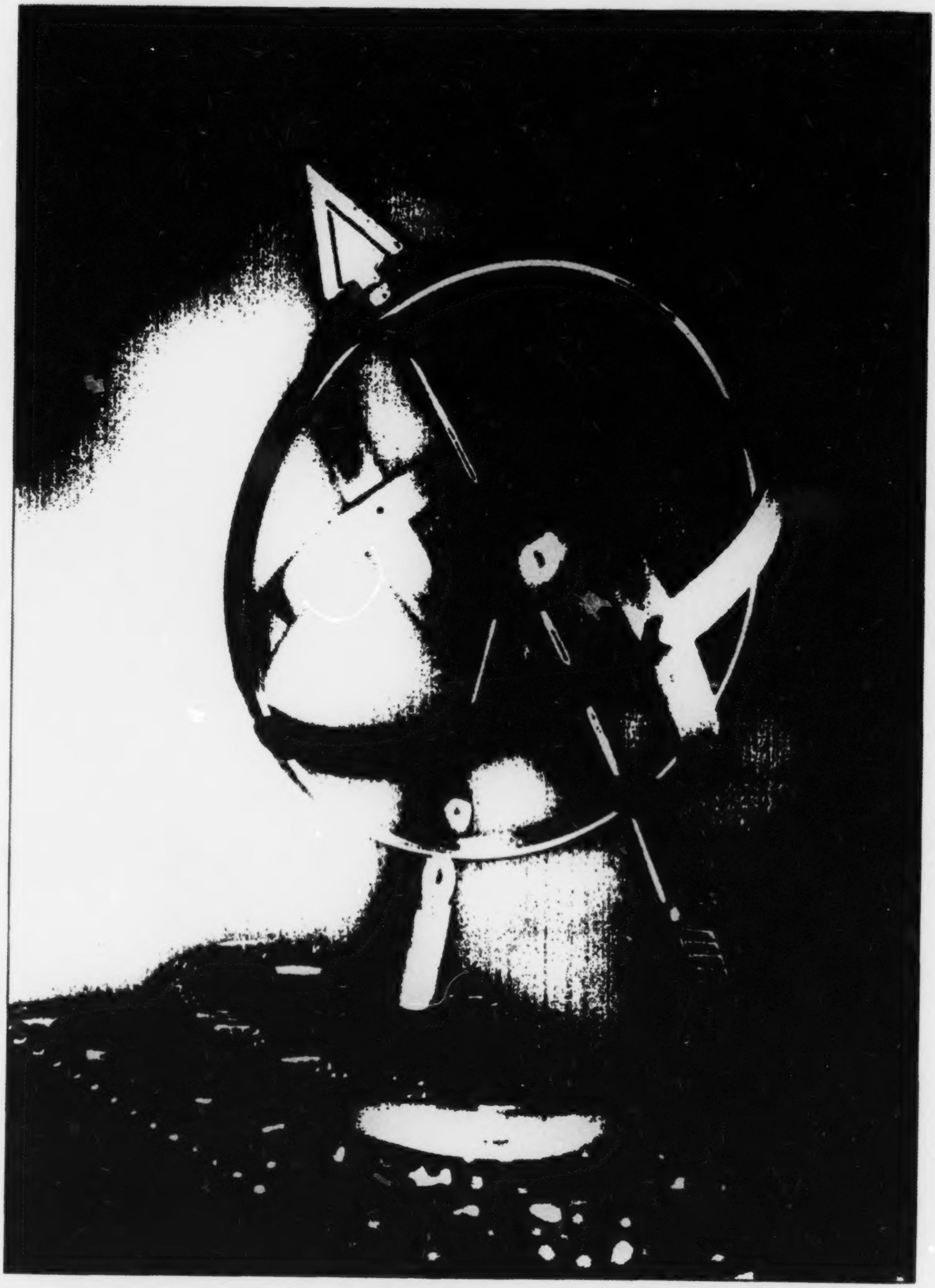
- To what extent was the American Revolution a revolution?
- What definition of revolution best fits the events and conditions of the American Revolution?
- What did the people of this era mean by liberty?
- What evidence is there to support the claim that the colonists went to war primarily in defense of liberty?
- If the colonists' concept of liberty had not been an issue, what other concept or issue might they have used to justify their actions against King George III and Parliament?
- To what extent was the American Revolution a democratic revolution?
- What evidence is there that the leaders of the rebellion and the colonial governments operating during the war resisted the idea of setting up a democratic government?
- When did the rebellion in the colonies become a revolution? Why did this transformation happen?
- When did the Revolution in the colonies end?
- Why could the American Revolution be labeled a radical revolution?
- What led some of the colonists from being staunch supporters of being British in 1763 to wanting to sever all political ties with Britain just thirteen years later?
- What were the positions of the Parliament and the opposing colonists regarding each of the major issues of this period?
- How did people's perceptions of certain events influence their reactions to them and their attitudes towards those on the opposite side of the issue(s)?

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

KEY VOCABULARY

The words below represent a nonexhaustive list of key vocabulary used throughout the videos, the resources and any investigation of the revolutionary era.

anarchy
authority
coercion
colony
congress
conservative
Continental Congress
Declaratory Act
democracy
divine right
East India Tea Company
freedom
independence
Intolerable Acts
liberty
Loyalist
loyalty
militia
monarchy
natural law
natural right
Parliament
patriot
petition
power
prime
minister
radical
rebel
rebellion
republic
resistance
resolution
resolve
Stamp Act
Townshend Acts
Tory
world war



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

GLOSSARY

bigwig (slang)—a person of real or imagined importance. The term came from the tradition in Europe that the bigger one's wig, the higher the status the person had in society. The origin arose from the practice in England and the colonies where the wigs worn by judges were longer (i.e., bigger) than those worn by lawyers because of the higher status of judges in the court system.

Bohea tea—a special kind of Chinese tea that was a favorite in the colonies.

boycott—an agreement usually among a particular segment of the population to reduce or stop the use and purchase of certain products or activities.

broadside—a single printed sheet of various sizes with words, pictures or both about an event, person or idea made to be posted for the general public to read. (For examples, see the SET OF GRAPHICS [10] and resource 32.)

cockpit—the center of activity and interest. The word is believed to have originated during the 1600s or early 1700s as the place in Westminster Hall, Parliament or the king's Privy Council Chamber where individuals stood while they were rebuked or challenged by members of Parliament or other major officials of the government. The term may have originated centuries earlier to denote the area where two roosters (cocks) fought to the death because the area was at the center of everyone's attention.

committee of correspondence—any official group appointed by a colony, town or group(s) to spread news to other colonies, towns or group and to propose, coordinate and possibly carry out actions decided on among the colonies to get the king and Parliament to change their ways. The first such group was organized in 1765 in opposition to the Stamp Act.

committee of safety—an organization that planned and organized for war or defense. Its activities included spying, storing munitions and coordinating activities of militias.

confederation—a group of sovereign states or communities that unite for one or more specific purposes, yet allow each state or community to act independently on all other purposes.

constitution—the fundamental laws and principles by which a group (nation, state, organization, etc.) is governed, often including a description of the basic structure of the government. A constitution is usually a written document. The term is usually capitalized when referring to the Constitution of the United States.

continentals—usually referred to soldiers who fought for, were paid and equipped by the Continental Congress and were trained and directed by officers appointed by this same congress. These soldiers were expected to fight anywhere they were ordered to go in the colonies. This word also referred to the paper money printed and circulated by the Continental Congress.

currency—another word for money.

disperse—to break up and scatter about rather than stay together.

dragoon—a member of a cavalry unit, even though not all members of a unit actually owned and rode horses. Those who had no horses or who did not ride their horses during a particular conflict were called dismounted dragoons. Their chief weapons were a sword, a pistol and a small musket. They often served as scouts, raiding parties and patrols to prevent sneak attacks and capture deserters and spies.

effigy—a substitute or symbol of someone or something hated, e.g., a stuffed dummy that represents a despised person.

forge—to shape or mold in a slow, deliberate way by force, or the place where something is shaped in this way. An example is forging (i.e., molding) a piece of iron into a definite shape using the hot coals in the forge (i.e., the place where the molding takes place). Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, was a fit name for the place where Washington, with the help of Baron von Steuben, deliberately shaped his untrained men into a highly trained, fighting army during the winter of 1777-78.

grapeshot—a cluster of iron balls, usually one inch in diameter, packed into a canvas bag and loaded into a cannon. When the powder burned and then exploded, the balls sprayed out of the cannon's muzzle with a shotgun-like effect.

green—a clear, grassy public field or large public lawn where people in a community could have large outdoor public gatherings. It is also known as a town commons.

grenadiers—foot soldiers who threw hand grenades, which were small, round bombs with a fuse invented in 1678. These men were usually selected for their height and strength. They eventually became known as highly effective fighters, especially with the bayonet. The grenade was rarely used after the 1750s, but the name stuck to the elite units in each battalion.

hackneyed—common or trite.

huzzah or huzza—a shout or yell, often done in unison such as a group shouting "Hurrah." This can also be a verb meaning to cheer.

liberty cap—a brimless hat worn as a symbol of the ideas of freedom, independence and liberty which the rebels supported. Similar ones were worn by the French revolutionaries.

liberty hall—any area, usually outside, where colonists assembled to discuss issues, listen to anti-government speeches and stage protests.

liberty pole—a rod like a flag pole from which effigies could be hung and around which people could gather to voice their positions in support of liberty and in opposition to the king, Parliament, royal officials and Loyalists. Sometimes it was the same as a liberty tree.

liberty tree—originally a particular large, dominant elm tree in Boston Commons that, beginning on August 14, 1765, was the center of debate and resistance against acts of Parliament and royal officials and for burning effigies. This tree later became the symbol of the rebels' concerns to protect their liberties, especially those associated with the English Constitution and the assumed natural rights of all men. Other trees were celebrated as such symbols. (See also liberty pole.)

Loyalists—the name given to those in the colonies that supported (i.e., remained loyal to) the king's and Parliament's positions and actions. The Loyalists were also called Tories because their views were much like those of the Tories in England, the major political party in Parliament that supported the views of the king and Parliament.

macaroni—originally the name for the peculiar, curly shape of one type of Italian pasta, the name was associated with the curls in wigs worn by members of eighteenth-century, English high society who had traveled to Europe and accepted many European styles, tastes and behaviors. The name was also used to refer to people who wore these wigs, who showed a preference for European rather than English styles, or who were ridiculed for trying to act as if they came from a higher social class than they actually did. The term was used to mock what that person stood for as well as the person himself or herself. Thus, the song describing Yankee Doodle sticking a feather in his hat and calling it macaroni was ridiculing the colonists for trying to be something that they were not (upper class) and preferring something other than the styles, tastes and ideas widely accepted among upper-middle and high English society. See the SET OF GRAPHICS (1).

martial law—a state in which all civil laws, rights and liberties are suspended and the military has direct rule.

militia—a group of men who drilled on a regular basis and were considered the community's first line of defense to protect the community as a whole. In most communities, the militia elected its own officers, and the quality of militia varied from community to community. Until late in the Revolutionary War, these men wore civilian clothes to the battlefield. Both the rebel and Tory sides had their own militia forces. It was the militia—not the minutemen—who fought at Lexington, although soon after the opening shots a call went out to the minutemen in the surrounding area to come and help the militias.

minuteman—an armed man read to fight in a minute's notice before and during the Revolutionary War. Not to be confused with members of colonial militia, minutemen rarely drilled on a regular basis, as required of members of local community militias. Until the battle of Concord, they fought only when needed in conflicts against the Indians near their homes. In some communities the minutemen were part of their community militia but had a different set of responsibilities than those of regular militia.

necessaries—in colonial times, toilets. For soldiers in charge of the necessaries, their work usually included digging, cleaning and covering up the ditches under the toilets.

propaganda—any device deliberately used to influence the thoughts and actions of someone in alignment with the views of a particular doctrine or cause.

ragtag—rowdy, undisciplined. Washington used this term on several occasions to describe the men whom he was ordered to command, beginning with the men surrounding Boston following the Lexington conflict.

read the riot act—in English law, to break up an unruly crowd within one hour after the Riot Act was read publicly. The act stated that those still present would be arrested. Now the phrase means to inform someone to do something immediately or face severe consequences.

redoubt—a small, enclosed, usually well-protected temporary outpost. It was often situated to easily defend strategic positions, the entry to a particular place or a key trench line. These were usually located within musket shot of the main fortification.

red tape—the pinkish-red tape that surrounded nearly all English and French legal documents that were also sealed with wax and stamped with an official government seal. Hence, to read these documents a person had to get through the red tape by breaking the wax seal and sliding off the tape.

regular—a member of an established, standing army. A standing army is also called a regular army.

scapegoat—a person or group who is blamed for some action, condition or mistake even though the person or group may have had nothing or little to do with what happened or did not happen.

Sons of Liberty—any person who opposed selected policies and actions by the English government. In February 1765, the Irish member of Parliament Isaac Barre coined the phrase when he spoke in opposition to the House of Commons passing the Stamp Act or any taxes on the American colonies. The original group calling itself the Sons of Liberty was established as a New York City committee of correspondence in opposition to the Stamp Act. This group became one of the most radical and persistent of the colonial groups opposing English laws. By the end of 1765, Samuel Adams in Boston began using this term to refer to colonists who opposed any acts of Parliament or royal orders aimed at the colonies. Prior to 1776, people in nearly every colony organized themselves into groups calling themselves Sons of Liberty.

state troops—soldiers who fought for and were paid by each state after the war began in April 1775. With rare exception, these troops only fought in their home state.

Tories—the name given to those in England who strongly supported the views of King George III and Parliament. Eventually the people in the colonies who remained loyal to the king and Parliament were also called Tories. According to the *New York Packet*, January 18, 1776, the name Tory was first given to Irish robbers or highwaymen who were always plundering and looking for villainous acts to do. If this is true, then the word originally meant those who plunder.

volley—shot from muskets or cannon, usually a number being fired simultaneously or in rapid succession.

Whigs—the name of one of the two major political parties in England. Many members of this party agreed with a number of ideas held by the protesters in the colonies. Eventually the name Whig was given to people in the colonies who protested against the king and Parliament. According to the *New York Packet*, January 18, 1776, the name Whig meant sour milk or whey, a name first given to the Presbyterians in Scotland, when they were persecuted by the high church, had to flee their homes and were often forced to drink sour milk in the homes of those poor people who would offer them food and shelter. If this is true, then the word Whig refers to those who challenged the right and absolute authority of the monarch to rule, and hence were often forced to having less of the good things that would come with being loyal to the monarch.

Yankee—a person from the New England colonies. There are at least three notions as to the origin of this term. One is that it came from the nicknames given to Dutch sailors, Janke (little Jan) or Jan Kees (a generic name such as our present day John Doe), who visited the New England ports in the late 1600s and throughout the 1700s. A second possibility is that the word is adapted from the assumed Indian pronunciation of English, Yengleesh. Yet another story reported in the *Virginia Gazette*, June 10, 1775, is that the original colonists in New England had little trouble subduing the Indian population in the area except for one tribe, the Yankoos, which signified invincible. According to legend, when the tribe was finally overcome, it allowed the transfer of its name to the conquerors in accordance with tribal custom. Hence, the colonists in the area were called the Yankoos, with this name eventually corrupted over time to Yankees.

Yankee Doodle—a derogatory nickname given by the regulars to reflect the general lawlessness and less-cultured behaviors of the colonists. The origin of the words to the song are unknown, but they are believed to follow the occupation of Boston in 1769 by the regulars. The colonists did not like the words that were sung to the tune of a song heard first in an American comic opera produced in Philadelphia in April 1767. After the siege of Boston in 1775, many colonists took a liking to the song, especially the tune, and sung it as a sort of arrogant challenge to the British army throughout the war. It was heard throughout the day of Cornwallis' surrender. Both sides made up their own words, and no original copy of the first set of words has been found. Most of the verses that survive were recorded years later, but no evidence confirms any one verse as being part of the original song.

TABLE OF RESOURCES IN THE RESOURCE PACKET

This table lists the number and name of all the resources in the RESOURCE PACKET along with an indicator of the one or more videos in the LIBERTY! video series which supplement them.

		VIDEO EPISODE					
NO.	TITLE OF RESOURCE	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Quotations of Note	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.	The Question and Problems of Empire: What Should Be Done to Manage, Defend and Govern the Empire? (1750-1763)	✓	✓				
3.	The British Constitution: Two Very Different Points of View	✓	✓				✓
4.	Rebellion or Revolution?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
5.	Revolution: An Alternative Perspective	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
6.	What Is Liberty?	✓	✓				✓
7.	The Colonists as Citizens of the British Empire	✓	✓	✓			
8.	Separating the War from the Revolution: An Introduction	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
9.	Announcement in a Colonial Newspaper by a Concerned Father (July 31, 1746)	✓					
10.	Act for the Settling and Better Regulations of the Militia in Virginia (May 1723)	✓	✓				
11.	The Mercantilist World View: Background and Overview	✓	✓				
12.	The Mercantilist World View: Basic Assumptions of This Economic Theory	✓	✓				
13.	Excerpts from a Speech Given by Virginia's Governor Dinwiddie (April 24, 1752)	✓	✓	✓			
14.	The Royal Proclamation on North America by King George III (October 7, 1763)	✓					
15.	A Declaration and Remonstrance from the Inhabitants of the Pennsylvania Frontier (February 13, 1764)	✓					
16.	The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved by James Otis (1764)	✓	✓				✓
17.	Acts of Parliament	✓	✓				
18.	The Virginia Stamp Act Resolves Introduced in the House of Burgesses by Patrick Henry (Adopted on May 30, 1765)	✓	✓				
19.	Poem in Opposition to the Stamp Act by Benjamin Franklin (1765)	✓					
20.	The Birth of the Sons of Liberty	✓	✓	✓			
21.	Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress (October 19, 1765)	✓	✓				
22.	The Objections to the Taxation of Our American Colonies by the Legislature of Great Britain Briefly Consider'd by Soame Jenyns, London (1765)	✓	✓				

NO.	TITLE OF RESOURCE	VIDEO EPISODE 1	2	3	4	5	6
23.	Tar'd and Feather'd	✓	✓	✓			
24.	"The Liberty Song"	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
25.	Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies for the Purpose of Raising a Revenue by Act of Parliament by Daniel Dulany (October 1765)	✓	✓				
26.	Letter to Lord Barrington from Sir Francis Bernard, Royal Governor of Massachusetts (November 23, 1765)	✓	✓				
27.	Speech before the House of Commons by George Grenville (January 14, 1766)	✓	✓				
28.	Speech on American Taxation Before the House of Lords by Lord Camden (February 24, 1766)	✓	✓				
29.	Eyewitness Accounts of the Boston Massacre (1770)	✓	✓				
30.	A Poem Written Seven Months after the Boston Massacre (Author Unknown) (October 1770)	✓	✓				
31.	Speech to the Massachusetts Assembly by Thomas Hutchinson, Royal Governor of Massachusetts (January 6, 1773)	✓	✓				
32.	The Tea Never Should Be Landed Broadside, Boston (December 2, 1773)	✓	✓				
33.	Eyewitness Accounts of the Boston Tea Party (December 1773)	✓	✓				
34.	"Rally, Mohawks!" (Author Unknown)	✓	✓				
35.	A Public Execution by the Sons of Liberty	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
36.	Excerpts from the Quebec Act (June 22, 1774)		✓				
37.	Considerations on the Authority of Parliament by James Wilson (August 1774)	✓	✓				✓
38.	A Song in Support of American Opposition to the Crown (1774)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
39.	In Memory of William French		✓	✓			
40.	The "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death" Speech by Patrick Henry (March 23, 1775)	✓	✓	✓			✓
41.	Orders by General Thomas Gage to Lieutenant Colonel Smith to Seize and Destroy the Munitions at Concord (April 18, 1775)		✓				
42.	What Happened on the Evening of April 18 and Early Morning of April 19, 1775? by Paul Revere		✓	✓			
43.	An Eyewitness to the Events in Lexington by Eliza (April 19, 1841)		✓				
44.	Abrigail Adams Expresses Her Support for Blacks (September 1774)		✓	✓			✓
45.	Petition from a "Grate Number of Blackes" to the Royal Governor and General of the Army Thomas Gage, Boston (May 25, 1775)		✓				
46.	Proclamation to the Citizens of Boston to Turn in Their Firearms Issued by General Thomas Gage (June 19, 1775)		✓				

		VIDEO EPISODE					
NO.	TITLE OF RESOURCE	1	2	3	4	5	6
47.	A Refugee Song (Author Unknown)		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
48.	The Liberty Tree Is Cut Down		✓	✓			
49.	"Liberty Tree" by Atlanticus (July 1775)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
50.	Words of the Loyalists	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
51.	Proclamation by the King for Suppressing Rebellion and Sedition (August 23, 1775)		✓	✓			
52.	Excerpts from a Letter from King George III to His Prime Minister, Lord North (1775)		✓	✓			
53.	The Manner and Tactics of European Armies in the Late 1700s		✓	✓	✓	✓	
54.	Factors That Handicapped the Crown's Ability to Wage Effective War		✓	✓	✓	✓	
55.	Social Contract Theory	✓	✓	✓			✓
56.	Virginia Governor Dunmore's Proclamation (November 7, 1775)		✓	✓			
57.	Letter Reacting to Governor Dunmore's Proclamation (November 1775)		✓	✓			
58.	Virginia's Resolution for Independence (May 15, 1776)		✓	✓			
59.	Letter to James Sullivan from John Adams (May 26, 1776)		✓	✓			
60.	Introduction of the Resolution for the Colonies to Severe All Allegiance to the British Crown (June 7, 1776)		✓	✓			
61.	The Virginia Declaration of Rights Approved Unanimously by the Virginia Legislature (June 12, 1776)		✓	✓			✓
62.	The Declaration of Independence: An Introduction and an Analysis of Its Structure		✓	✓			✓
63.	Eyewitness Accounts from the Battlefields			✓	✓	✓	
64.	Blacks during the Revolutionary Era			✓	✓	✓	✓
65.	Letter from Paul Revere in Defense of the Colonies Remaining Independent from Britain (July 1782)		✓	✓	✓	✓	
66.	The Marquis de Lafayette Reacts to the Continuation of Slavery in America after the War					✓	✓
67.	Circular Letter to the State Governors by George Washington (June 8,1783)					✓	✓
68.	Casualty and Death Table					✓	✓
69.	Is the American Revolution Over?					✓	✓

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DESCRIPTION OF RESOURCES AND SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

This section provides the number and name of sixty-nine resources, a short description of each, and one or more suggested activities utilizing the resource or topics related to the content of the resource. Teachers are encouraged to develop their own activities and sequence for using these resources.

RESOURCE 1: QUOTATIONS OF NOTE

This resource consists of quotations from a variety of sources representative of the ideas, feelings, perspectives and judgments during this era. Students are asked to consider them one at a time, as a group, and in relation to one another.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to interpret each selected quotation in its context. Have them state the reasons why they believe their interpretation comes close to what the writer or speaker might have meant. Ask students to describe how these quotations add to their comprehension of the events, issues and people of this era.

b. Ask students to use these quotations and find others and create a dialogue among the individuals using these quotations as important indicators of each one's point of view. Other documents in the first-person can be found in resources 9, 29, 33, 42, 43, 44, 50, 52, 57, 59, 63 and 65-66.

RESOURCE 2: THE QUESTION AND PROBLEMS OF EMPIRE: WHAT SHOULD BE DONE TO MANAGE, DEFEND AND GOVERN THE EMPIRE? (1750-1763)

This resource is a brief description of the situation in which the ministers and Parliament found themselves prior to and just after the Seven Years War (French and Indian War). It concerns their awareness of the need to reform the administration of a large world-wide empire and provide uniform laws and their enforcement throughout the colonies. This description will help students build a context for the policies and actions Parliament took towards the colonies beginning in 1763.

This text complements resource 17.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to investigate each of the Acts of Parliament from 1763 to 1770 in light of the aims outlined in this statement. Have them consider the pros and cons of each act from the perspective of the colonists and from the perspective of Parliament's attempts to reform the administration of the empire. Have them consider what they might have done to bring about the reforms without increasing opposition in the American colonies.

b. Divide students into groups representing a member of Parliament, a person in one of the colonies, a merchant in the West Indies, and as a member of the middle class in England. Ask students to examine the aims of Parliament listed in the reading from their character's perspective. Then have them explain their character's reasons for and against Parliament undertaking each act. Finally, have them compare these sets of reasons.

c. Ask students to respond to the following questions: During the 1760s, was Parliament justified in trying to reform the administration of the empire? On what constitutional ground could the colonists have justified their actions during the French and Indian War? Were the activities of the colonists during the French and Indian War enough to justify Parliament's efforts to alter its policies towards colonial America?

RESOURCE 3: THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION: TWO VERY DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW

This resource provides a brief description of two opposing perspectives on the British Constitution during the period from 1760 through the end of the war. The view of members of Parliament, most British citizens, and most colonists (later called Loyalists) diverged tremendously from that of some colonists (later called revolutionaries). Both sides claimed that they were following the British Constitution, and both claimed to be loyal and patriotic in terms of their adherence to that constitution.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to investigate definitions of constitution and purposes of constitutions. Have them make a list of all the definitions and purposes they can find. Have them explain any substantial differences among these definitions. Have them determine the most important purposes of constitutions. Then have them decide which one of the views of the British Constitution described in the resource comes closest to their definition of a constitution and the most important purposes for having a constitution.

b. After they have done the exercise above, ask them to examine the Articles of Confederation and the U.S. Constitution. Ask them to make a list of the reasons why each of these documents would be classified as constitutions.

c. Have students write to the British Embassy, the queen of England, the British prime minister, Prince Charles or some other person associated with the British Constitution to ask that person to send them a copy of his/her constitution. Have them write down what they expect to receive. Have them review the response they get and then compare it to what they expected to receive.

RESOURCE 4: REBELLION OR REVOLUTION?

This resource has two parts that can be used in conjunction or separately. The focus of the material is to provide a clear definition of rebellion and revolution. Having defined these terms, students are then asked to examine the statements and actions during this era and to label the events as being more like a rebellion or a revolution.

This text complements resources 5 and 69.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. First, ask students to report their criteria for determining what is a lawful and an unlawful action. Then have them list actions that both sides took that were considered unlawful. Next ask students to determine whether or not the actions of the opposition colonists made them rebels or revolutionaries. Finally, have them justify their reasoning citing evidence from the text(s).

b. Ask students to invite a historian or political scientist from a college or university to give his or her views on why the American Revolution is called a revolution. Have them inform the guest that they know there is a difference between the American Revolution and the American Revolutionary War, and that they want to focus on the revolution. Have them ask the speaker such questions as: What was American about the American Revolution? What were the causes of the American Revolution? At what moment can we say that the American Revolution began? At what moment can we say that the American Revolution ended?

c. Ask students to define patriot. Ask them to explain under what conditions a patriot would also be a rebel or a revolutionary. When, if ever, would we refer to someone as both a patriot and a rebel or revolutionary?

RESOURCE 5: REVOLUTION: AN ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVE

This resource has two parts which focus on the term revolution from a scientific perspective. The suggestion is that the scientific concept of revolution may be applied to making sense of the events within the American Revolution. The scientific definition may be used as a model to examine social events in any era and in any nation. This activity provides students with an alternative view of what may be required before a series of events is labeled a revolution.

This text complements resources 4 and 69.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to judge whether this model of a revolution is useful for examining and analyzing the events in a society to determine whether or not these events could be called a revolution. Have students use this same model to examine other revolutions, such as the French Revolution.

b. Ask students to find as many definitions of revolution as they can. Have them use these to develop a definition of revolution that could be applied to the American, French and Russian revolutions. Have them then investigate other events in the 1800s and 1900s that were called revolutions. Have them apply their single or several definitions to determine which definition or definitions are the most useful in describing, analyzing and labeling events as revolutions.

RESOURCE 6: WHAT IS LIBERTY?

Questions of liberty and freedom during the American revolutionary era emphasized civil liberty and freedom. This meant that people were primarily concerned with the type of control a government could have over their thoughts and actions. The major issues of disparity focused on how much power a government or the society could legally have to regulate their behavior. The leaders of the rebellion raised other concerns. They asked how the present government, indeed any government, justifies its existence; what the relationship is between the government and the people who are subject to it; and what the people's rights are in a society regardless of the government in power. This handout provides a number of definitions of liberty that are useful in constructing a sense of what people have meant by this term. Students are asked to consider these definitions and alternative views as they comprehend the complexity of dealing with the concepts of liberty and its application to colonial life and modern times.

This text complements resources 16, 24, 40, 47, 48 and 69. For additional sources on liberty, see also the **Reference List.**

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to locate at least five other definitions of liberty. Have them compare these definitions and decide which ones they believe are the clearest and the vaguest explanations of liberty. Using these definitions and the ones in this resource, they should formulate their own clear definition of liberty. Have them compare their definition with those used by the colonists and members of Parliament.

b. Ask student to read other documents and speeches at this time, for instance the Declaration of Independence (see resource 62) or the Virginia Declaration of Rights (resource 61). Then have them construct a definition of liberty that the writers of these documents or speeches probably used. Have them discuss the ease or difficulty they had in coming up with a clear definition from each document.

c. Ask students to invite a historian or political scientist to address what the colonists and members of Parliament might have meant by liberty, freedom and rights. Have them ask the speaker to bring in examples of speeches or documents that clearly state these definitions or examples of these concepts. Have them re-read some of the materials they studied previously and see whether or not their interpretations of these documents changed as a result of the definitions given by the guest speaker.

d. Ask students to develop a visual continuum of the best and worst definitions of liberty: First, have them copy definitions which they find in resource books onto 3 x 5 index cards and then place at each end of the continuum. Then they can write their own definitions on index cards and place these cards where they seem to fit along this continuum.

e. Ask students to make a list of all the situations and behaviors they engage in each day or over a week and separate them in terms of those that illustrate liberty and those that illustrate a restriction on their liberty. Have them compare the number of items on each list. Have them reflect on the results of their comparison and decide whether or not Americans have much or little liberty.

RESOURCE 7: THE COLONISTS AS CITIZENS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Until the Declaration of Independence was written, the vast majority of the colonists who came from England believed that they were English citizens. They thought that they owed allegiance to England and King George III. Those who were of English descent shared this view. They also believed that Britain was the greatest nation in the world and that it was a privilege to be British and part of the British Empire. This resource describes a number of ideas that concerned the colonists, both rebel and Loyalist, during the time after 1763 to the verge of hostilities in 1775. Students are asked to study these descriptions to get a sense of the ideas, values and attitudes that were shared, argued over and cherished by different people and groups on both sides of the Atlantic during this era.

For sources on viewpoints of the Crown, the British and Loyalists, see the **Reference List.**

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to list the roles and responsibilities of citizens in a nation or community. Then have them formulate a definition of a citizen. Have them use their definition of citizen to determine what makes them a citizen of the United States (or other nation, if applicable). Have them discuss the meaning of citizenship and what it would mean to be good citizens of a nation.

b. Ask students to consider a number of the actions of the colonial resisters, such as tarring and feathering royal officials, burning their homes and threatening their lives. Ask them to decide whether these were examples of good or bad citizenship. Have them consider these actions in terms of the responsibilities of citizens to obey the law and maintain civil order. Have them describe what they would do today if a group of citizens started tarring and feathering other citizens in the name of protecting liberty. See resource 23 for more information on tarring and feathering.

c. Ask students to look up the views of royal officials such as Thomas Hutchinson and study his views on the law, the rights of citizens and the rebels' actions in Boston. Have them make a list of important statements that represent Hutchinson's views. Have them decide whether these views were appropriate for a royal official to hold. Then have them decide whether the actions that Hutchinson took or wanted to take were in the best interest of the citizens of Boston. Then have them compare what Hutchinson thought and wanted to do with what the leaders of the colonial resistance were doing and thought should be done. See resource 31 for more on Hutchinson.

RESOURCE 8: SEPARATING THE WAR FROM THE REVOLUTION: AN INTRODUCTION

The American Revolutionary War was but one part of the era of the American Revolution that lasted from approximately 1763 to 1789. In studying the American Revolution, we can separate the military activities from the ideas and events that started over a decade before the conflict at Lexington and Concord. Nearly all of the major ideas and issues that aroused hundreds of thousands of colonists to action are as important to us today as they were to the colonists. For instance, Americans still complain about paying taxes, want less government in their daily lives, are concerned about their rights as citizens and as human beings, and actively insist on governmental protection of their rights. In one sense, the American Revolution will never end. The most important struggles associated with the American revolutionary era concerned ideas and beliefs that men and women on both sides were willing to give up their lives to defend. This resource explores the meaning of the terms revolution and war and asks students to consider these meanings and the relationship of the war to the revolution.

This text complements resource 69.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES USING THIS RESOURCE

a. Ask students to answer one of these questions: Was the American Revolutionary War an inevitable element of the American Revolution? Could the Revolutionary War have been prevented?

b. Ask students to make a list of criteria for what constitutes an end to a war and to a revolution. Have them look for evidence that the American Revolution ended and that the Revolutionary War ended. Have them decide which of these two endings was easier to confirm. Have them discuss why the ending of one of these might be more difficult to confirm than the other.

c. Ask students to develop a definition of cause. Have them investigate the causes of the American Revolution and the causes of the American Revolutionary War. Have them try to place each cause with one of these two rather than connecting a cause to both the Revolution and the war. Have them discuss the difficulty or ease of deciding where a cause ought to go.

RESOURCE 9: ANNOUNCEMENT IN A COLONIAL NEWSPAPER BY A CONCERNED FATHER (JULY 31, 1746)

In this short announcement published in the *Virginia Gazette*, a father asks ministers not to permit the marriage of his son to the girl whom he intends to marry. Such announcements were not uncommon in colonial newspapers. It is provided here to reveal the concerns that many parents had for their children and the manner in which they might pursue these concerns. Note: This request not to marry the boy would end when the boy reached twenty-one years of age, the official age of adulthood in the British Empire.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to determine the probable reasons why newspapers in colonial America would publish such announcements. Have them state the reasons why a father might have put such an announcement in the newspaper. Have them determine what the publication of such announcements reveals about life, particularly family situations, in colonial Virginia.

b. Ask students to look at newspapers today as well as announcements of lost children. Have them locate announcements that are similar to the one provided in this resource. Have them explain how colonial life for people under the age of twenty-one might have been similar to and different from life today.

c. Ask students to investigate what it means to be an adult in America today. Have them make a list of things they cannot legally do until they reach the legal age of an adult.

Have them consider the reasons why societies establish a particular age when people are legally treated as an adult. Ask them to explain the advantages and disadvantages of having society establish a person's legal age.

d. Ask students to investigate the voting pattern of people between eighteen and twenty-one years of age in national, state and local elections. Have them compare the voting patterns of people of this age group with patterns of people of other age groups. Have them investigate why people in the eighteen-to twenty-one-age group have the voting pattern that they do. Have them consider whether having the right to vote is an adult right. Then have them assess the different voting patterns of eighteen-to twenty-one-year olds and those of older adults.

RESOURCE 10: ACT FOR THE SETTLING AND BETTER REGULATIONS OF THE MILITIA IN VIRGINIA (MAY 1723).

This act of the Virginia House of Burgesses, approved by the royal governor, concerns the membership, organization and possible uses of the militia in the colony of Virginia. This act was similar to ones passed in most other colonies. Students should realize that the militias were common in many small communities throughout the colonies and were established as legal units under colonial law. They were to be used in case of any invasion, insurrection or rebellion.

This text complements resources 13 and 53. For sources on military matters and re-enactments, see the **Reference List.**

Suggested Activities Using This Resource.

a. Ask students to consider the membership, organization and possible uses of the militia units in the colonies. Ask them to describe the characteristics of the men in a typical militia unit under the act provided in this resource. Have them describe the kinds of people who were exempt from being in the militia.

b. Ask students to gather information about the National Guard in present day America. Have them to locate data on the origins, membership and purposes of the National Guard. Have them compare the origins, membership, organization and purposes of today's National Guard with Virginia's colonial militia of 1723. Or, instead of looking at the National Guard, students could do this exercise by focusing on the militia movement in contemporary America.

c. Ask students to imagine that they lived in a small community in colonial Virginia. Have them design a poster that might recruit people into the community's militia. Have them use statements from this act in their poster. Then have them explain the reasons why their poster might have worked to recruit community citizens into their local militia. For an illustration of a recruiting poster, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (13).

d. Ask students to make a list of advantages and disadvantages to rural communities in the colonies of having their own local militias. Have them make a list of advantages and disadvantages of each colony forming a permanent or standing army for the colony. Have students explain why colonists and most people in England in the 1700s feared a large standing army living in England or in any colony.

e. Ask students to find information on the colonial militias and the minutemen. Have them compare and contrast these two military groups. Have them examine David H. Fischer's *Paul Revere's Ride* to find out his view of the minutemen in the Battle of Lexington on April 19, 1775 (see the **Reference List**). Ask them to compare his version with others.

RESOURCE 11: THE MERCANTILIST WORLD VIEW: BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW

Mercantilism was the predominant economic theory operating in the colonies almost from the first settlement in Jamestown in 1607. The focus of the theory was that the homeland was rich only if it had lots of gold and silver. Merchants used these metals to buy and sell only as long as they kept increasing the country's supply of them. Gold and silver also allowed the homeland to build trading ships and protect the sea routes used by its merchants and colonies. Like all major economic theories, followers of mercantilism influenced political decisions and actions. Many of the decisions made by Parliament after 1763 were based on this theory of economics.

This resource provides a number of major principles in this economic theory as well as information about the roles of this theory in everyday life.

This text complements resource 12.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to make a list of the ideas in this resource that would be acceptable to mercantilists. Have them describe what it would be like to live in a colony where the homeland followed this economic theory. Have them make a list of advantages and disadvantages of this economic policy for the native country and for a colony.

b. Ask students to imagine that they were colonists during the 1700s. Have them react to the ideas of mercantilism from the perspective of a colonist. Have them make a list of advantages and disadvantages to the colonies of mercantilist economic ideas and practices. Or they could assume the role of a merchant in Britain during this same time. Have them make a list of benefits and losses to their business in Britain due to mercantilist economic ideas and practices. (Students could do this exercise in pairs or paired groups to respond to each other's points.)

c. Place students in groups and have each member assume the role of a mercantilist, a member of Parliament or a colonist. Have them develop the best plan to help the colonists expand their own wealth while also increasing the amount of gold and silver that comes into England. Have them explain why their plan should work while still fitting in with the major principles of mercantilist economic theory and practice. If they cannot develop such a plan, have them state the reasons why such a plan is not possible.

RESOURCE 12: THE MERCANTILIST WORLD VIEW: BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF THIS ECONOMIC THEORY

This resource provides an extensive list of the assumptions or beliefs of mercantilists. If students comprehend these assumptions, they will be able to understand many of the ideas that the mercantilists used to guide their daily lives. Students can apply these assumptions to interpret economic and political actions in terms of their correspondence with or divergence from mercantilist theory.

This text complements resource 11.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to summarize the assumptions listed for the mercantilist world view. Have them state in their own words the ideas in this perspective that concerned the colonies. Have them imagine themselves as well-to-do English merchants or bankers in the 1760s and 1770s. Then have them answer such questions as: If they were a merchant or banker, to what extent would they support the mercantilist world view? If they were a colonist, for what reasons would they support the mercantilist world view?

b. After students have summarized each of the statements that make up the mercantilists' world view, ask them to consider each major Act of Parliament between 1763 and 1774. (See resource 17 for a chart of these acts.) Have them determine the reasons why a supporter of mercantilism would approve or disapprove of each act.

c. Ask students to investigate the way that many government officials and ministers were paid in the southern colonies during the 1700s up to the time of the Revolutionary War. Have them study the money used in the colonies during the 1770s. Have them decide the advantages and disadvantages of being paid in tobacco or paper money during this period. Have them decide whether they would have preferred to be paid in tobacco or paper money. Then have them investigate how Acts of Parliament affected the method of paying royal officials and why the colonists protested the changes that were made in paying these officials.

RESOURCE 13: EXCERPTS FROM A SPEECH GIVEN BY VIRGINIA'S GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE (APRIL 24, 1752)

In an address to the House of Burgesses, Royal Governor Dinwiddie stated that, because of the openness of the state and lack of many fortifications against an enemy, it was necessary to make sure that the local militias were well trained and kept ready for defense. He also warned about the dangers of swearing, drinking and gambling. Moments later he asked members of the House to encourage by example religion and virtue. This speech reveals the opinions of one important royal official in the colonies regarding what was needed to make sure the colony and individual communities had the militias that would best protect the people.

This text complements resources 10 and 53. For sources on military matters and on re-enactments, see the **Reference List.**

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to investigate the history of colonial militias. Ask them to research when different colonies began to form militia units. Have them summarize the make-up and training of men for these different colonial militias.

b. Ask students to study the characteristics of minutemen and men in the community militia units. Have them compare the training and skills of each of these types of fighting men. Have them determine the advantages and disadvantages of each one's ability to protect a local community from attack.

159

c. Ask students to investigate the events at Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775. Ask them to decide whether it was better for the militia or for the minutemen to meet the regular troops marching out from Boston. Have them describe the roles played by both of these types of fighting men during this engagement.

RESOURCE 14: THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION ON NORTH AMERICA BY KING GEORGE III (OCTOBER 7, 1763)

The king issued this proclamation to clarify the future plans for the territories that the British possessed before the French and Indian War and acquired as a result of that same war. Part of the contents of this proclamation concerns Canada, Florida and Grenada. These came under British control as a result of their victory over France and Spain. As a result, an imaginary line was drawn through the Appalachians so that the territory west of these mountains would temporarily remain available to the Indians. Governors of existing colonies and new settlements could not acquire any land that was deemed Indian land, and settlers who had already moved into this territory were ordered out of it. Furthermore, only governors could purchase Indian land, and even they could not do so easily. Trade with the Indians was permitted as long it was done free and openly, and as long as people were licensed and observant of all trade regulations. Failure to meet these terms meant a large fine and possible loss of trading privileges. Although this proclamation was intended to be a provisional measure, the colonists who expected immediate access to this territory after the war were very disappointed. Moreover, the settlers viewed the terms and limitations as permanent restrictions.

This text complements resources 15, 27 and 36. For other writings by the king, see resources 51 and 52.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to look at a map of the territory and boundaries mentioned in this proclamation. Have them make a list of reasons why the boundaries might have been drawn where they were. Have them consider the advantages and disadvantages of the boundaries' placement from the standpoints of the king and of the settlers. While doing this activity, they may want to take into consideration the Declaration and Remonstrance from the Inhabitants of the Pennsylvania Frontier (resource 15).

b. Ask students to imagine that they lived in London in 1763 and King George III asked them what to do with this territory. Have students investigate the territory and describe the geography and each group of people who either lived or wanted to live in this territory. They should develop their own plan for this region and report on the advantages and disadvantages to each group if their plan were implemented.

c. Ask students to imagine that they were roving reporters in the territory affected by this proclamation. After traveling to different areas of this territory, they interview several people from different walks of life. Have them write one or more news articles based on these interviews for one of the larger colonial newspapers. Have them clarify why their interviewees had various reactions to this proclamation. Advanced students may want to consult Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* as an example of a similar exercise.

d. Ask students to design a broadside, cartoon or drawing that would express different points of view towards this act, the king or those affected by this act. Have them share their works and take turns interpreting them to see how persuasively they presented their ideas. For a cartoon on dividing up the empire, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (5). For examples of broadsides and cartoons, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (6, 10, 11, 17, 25) and resource 32.

e. Ask students to compare the contents of this act with that of the Quebec Act of 1774 (resource 36). Have them determine the specific areas where these two documents are similar and different with regard to this territory. Have them determine which of these plans to deal with the western territories was most consistent with the desires of those who wanted to settle and control this territory. Can they decide which plan most recognized the rights and lives of the Native Americans who lived in this territory? Have them determine the ways that both plans were consistent or inconsistent with ensuring the civil rights of citizens of the nation who moved into this territory.

RESOURCE 15: A DECLARATION AND REMONSTRANCE FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA FRONTIER (FEBRUARY 13, 1764)

After the French and Indian War ended and Pontiac's Uprising was put down, many settlers wanted to move into the Ohio River territory. This was land that the British government said was to be Indian territory. Thus, settlers were not allowed to enter this land or buy the land from the Indians, and they were also forbidden to use other legal and all illegal means to get this land. Many settlers and developers ignored this dictate. Some were caught and arrested, and some decided to petition the government for help. This document provides the contents of one of those petitions. It was originally entitled A Declaration and Remonstrance of the Distressed and Bleeding Frontier Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania. . . Showing the Causes of Their Late Discontent and the Grievances under Which They Have Laboured. It was presented to the government in Philadelphia for action. But, like nearly all such petitions, it did not produce any changes in English policies for this region. Later, a number of settlers saw independence from Britain as a way to get this land from the Indians.

This text complements resources 14 and 27.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to review the Proclamation on North America approved by King George III in October 1763 (resource 14). Ask them to investigate whether the effects of the proclamation would have added to or reduced the problems these inhabitants were having in the frontier territory. If the proclamation had no effect either way, ask them to make a list of other factors that would have caused them concern.

b. Ask them to make a list of the things the king, Parliament and local assembly could have done to eliminate their problems. Have them consider how the things they listed, if done, would have affected other groups interested in this same region. Then ask them what they would have been willing to give up in order to get what they most wanted in this region.

RESOURCE 16: THE RIGHTS OF THE BRITISH COLONIES ASSERTED AND PROVED BY JAMES OTIS (1764)

James Otis, a Boston lawyer, played a central role in the colonial protest that started in the middle of the French and Indian War. In an important case, he pleaded that the actions by Crown officials were not in keeping with the rights of English citizens and of all men. He won his case. In this document, Otis, expanding on the ideas he introduced four years earlier, presents his reasoning for the rights that the colonies had and that the colonial people had as citizens of the British Empire.

This text complements resources 6 and 22.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to imagine that they supported Otis's view of rights. First, have them put together a small pamphlet or brochure that they might have written and distributed to other colonists as a way of spreading Otis's ideas to more people. Then have them write a short statement to justify what they included in their text. Finally, have them imagine James Otis's reactions to their work. Or have another student, assuming the persona of Otis, respond to a partner's work.

b. Ask students to imagine that they were an editor of a London newspaper who had just read Otis' statement. Have them write a story or an editorial response to it. Then have them write Otis's response to their story or editorial. This exercise may be done in pairs with each student playing a role and responding to his/her partner's writing.

c. Ask students to make a list of the rights that Otis mentioned that they believe they have in America today. Have them make another list of the rights Otis mentioned that they believe they do not have today. Have them justify why they think that they no longer have these rights. Then ask them what they could legally do, starting today, to get these rights back.

d. Ask students to write a definition of liberty that James Otis would have accepted. (They may want to do resource 6 first.) Ask them to select parts of this statement to support their claim that this is a definition Otis would have accepted.

e. Ask students to read The Objections to the Taxation of Our American Colonies by the Legislature of Great Britain, Briefly Consider'd by Soame Jenyns (resource 22). Jenyns expresses the view of the majority of members of Parliament and of England at the time of the 1765 Stamp Act. First, have them summarize the important points that Jenyns makes in his statement. Then have them compare the views in Jenyns' statement with those of James Otis. Finally, have them write a comparison or contrast paper on these two works.

RESOURCE 17: ACTS OF PARLIAMENT

This resource is a chart that can be used to help students look very carefully at each of the Acts of Parliament passed during the period from 1760 though 1778. Each segment of the chart requires students to locate important information for each act. Once students have completed this information, they will find it easier to compare the acts as well as the colonists' reactions to the acts.

This chart complements resource 2.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to study this chart. Then assign individuals or small groups one of Parliament's acts during this period. Have them find the information for each section of the chart for the Act(s) of Parliament and fill in the appropriate spaces.

b. Ask students to compare the information they found for all the acts selected for study. Then ask them to compare the reactions that the colonists had to all of these acts.

c. Place students in two sets of pairs: two as members of Parliament and two as colonists who opposed one or more acts. Have those representing Parliament's position focus on the details of each act concerning managing and protecting the empire. Have students representing the colonists' side consider the acts as if they might affect them personally. When everyone has filled in their charts in detail, ask students in each group to share what they found. Have them help their teammates master the perspective that they did not study when collecting their data.

RESOURCE 18: THE VIRGINIA STAMP ACT RESOLVES INTRODUCED IN THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES BY PATRICK HENRY (ADOPTED ON MAY 30, 1765)

This resource provides important ideas that many people in Virginia and across the colonies held about the right and power to tax the colonists. The ideas expressed in these resolutions greatly influenced the thinking of many people in the colonies. These resolves were sent to King George III and Parliament. They influenced attendance at the Stamp Act Congress and helped shape the resolutions that came out of that congress.

This text complements resources 19, 21, 22, 25, 27 and 28. For an illustration relating to the Stamp Act, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (8).

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to investigate the purposes of a formal resolution or resolve. Have them investigate why people during this period would develop and vote on resolves. Have them investigate the use and popularity of resolves in present day America.

b. Ask students to read a copy of the Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress (resource 21). Have them list the major ideas in those resolutions and in these resolves. Have them compare these ideas, focusing on those that are similar and different in the two documents. Have them choose which document expresses the colonists' position more completely, clearly, and forcefully.

c. Ask students to read The Objections to the Taxation of Our American Colonies by the Legislature of Great Britain, Briefly Consider'd by Soame Jenyns (resource 22). This document expresses the view of the majority of members of Parliament and of England at the time. Have them consider the important points that Jenyns makes in his statement. Have them compare the views in Jenyns' statement with those in the resolves. Have them make a list of the issues on which the two sides most disagreed. Have them agree upon a compromise position on which both sides at this time could agree.

d. Ask students to design a broadside, cartoon or drawing that would express different points of view towards these resolves or what these resolves would mean to those affected by it. Have them share their works and take turns interpreting them to see how persuasively they presented their ideas. For examples of broadsides and cartoons, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (6, 10, 11, 17, 25) and resource 32.

e. Ask students to read the Declaration of Independence. Have them select ideas in it that are similar to ideas included in these resolves. (They may want to do resource 62 first.) Have them state reasons why the ideas would be similar in the two documents. Then have them list reasons why these documents would contain different ideas.

RESOURCE 19: POEM IN OPPOSITION TO THE STAMP ACT BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (1765)

Writing poems and songs in favor of or in opposition to particular events or ideas was a common activity among citizens in all of the colonies. Many newspapers published these poems and songs. This resource includes the words of an untitled poem by Benjamin Franklin. He uses the word mother to mean Britain, the mother country of the empire. The pronouns us and we refer to the colonies and colonists.

This text complements resources 18, 21, 22, 25 and 28. For other poems and songs, see resources 24, 30, 34, 38, 47 and 49. See the SET OF GRAPHICS *for an illustration by Benjamin Franklin (5) and one of him (16) and for one related to the Stamp Act (8).*

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to look in their own local newspapers for a period of a week or two. Have them pay special attention to the editorial and letter to the editor sections. Have them collect all the poems that they find. Have them interpret these poems in light of the topic or issue each addresses. Have them determine the possible reasons why someone might express their opinions in the form of a poem rather than a letter.

b. Ask students to decide whether a poem is a good way to express personal thoughts and emotions about what is going on in their society or the world. Have them write their own poems about a current political event or issue. Ask them to submit them to their local newspapers. Have them report on which poems were published and which ones were not.

c. Ask students to invite the editor of their local newspaper into their classroom. Ask the editor to share the reasons for editorials and the criteria for what gets printed in the letters to the editor section. Have them ask the editor why more poems are not printed in the newspaper to express people's opinions on a topic.

RESOURCE 20: THE BIRTH OF THE SONS OF LIBERTY

Sometimes a phrase is uttered that captures the attention of people far beyond its original audience. During the Stamp Act debates in Parliament, Isaac Barre tried to defend the colonies. In his speech he not only defended the colonies, but he also presented a number of views that were welcomed in the colonies. He also uttered one phrase, sons of liberty, that gave him instant acclaim in the colonies. In the few seconds that he took to say the three words, he gave birth to the Sons of Liberty, a group originally founded to oppose the Stamp Act. In this excerpt he is speaking directly to Charles Townshend, an ardent advocate of Parliament's position, and the entire membership of Parliament. This resource also includes a short narrative on the origin of groups of Sons of Liberty in the colonies and a description of a typical Son of Liberty in 1775.

This text complements resource 35. For an illustration related to the Stamp Act, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (8).

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to read other information on the Sons of Liberty. Ask them to distinguish between the Sons' lawful and unlawful behaviors. Ask them to justify the unlawful actions from the point of view of the Sons of Liberty. Ask them to assess the lawfulness of their behaviors as the king, a member of Parliament or a local royal official might have judged them. After comparing the different sets of opinions, they should decide who acted most justly.

b. Ask students which modern groups might come closest to the purposes, composition and disposition of the original Sons of Liberty. If these groups do what the original Sons of Liberty did in the colonies, would the students support their activities?

c. Ask students to design a broadside, cartoon or drawing that would express different points of view towards the Sons of Liberty and their activities. Have them share their works and take turns interpreting them to see how persuasively they presented their ideas. For examples of broadsides and cartoons, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (6, 10, 11, 17, 25) and resource 32.

d. Ask students to investigate the actions of the Loyalists and determine what the Sons of Liberty and Loyalists held in common. Ask them to consider whether the Sons of Liberty might have considered themselves patriots and Loyalists. If they were Loyalists, to what or whom were they loyal?

RESOURCE 21: RESOLUTIONS OF THE STAMP ACT CONGRESS (OCTOBER 19, 1765)

In September 1765, representatives of the colonies met in what is known as the Stamp Act Congress. It convened to decide what should be done about the Stamp Act. The members considered whether the colonies should act separately or together. The representatives decided to act as a single group in opposition to the Stamp Act. They also wanted Parliament, the king and the colonists to know why they were so upset by the Stamp Act. The resolutions in this resource reveal that, in addition to the Stamp Act, they worried about their rights, their role with regards to the king and Parliament, and their views about being loyal to the Crown.

This text complements resources 18, 19, 22, 25, 27 and 28. For an illustration related to the Stamp Act, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (8).

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to define resolve and resolution. Have them analyze the contents and format of this statement in terms of these definitions. Have them list reasons for and against a legislative body issuing individual resolves and resolutions. They can then investigate a legislative body's reasons for issuing or refusing to issue a list of resolves.

b. Ask students to design a broadside, cartoon or drawing that would express different points of view towards these resolutions, the Stamp Act Congress or what these resolutions would mean to those affected by them. Have them share works and take turns interpreting them to see how persuasively they presented their ideas. For examples of broadsides and cartoons, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (6, 10, 11, 17, 25) and resource 32.

RESOURCE 22: THE OBJECTIONS TO THE TAXATION OF OUR AMERICAN COLONIES BY THE LEGISLATURE OF GREAT BRITAIN BRIEFLY CONSIDER'D BY SOAME JENYNS, LONDON (1765)

Soame Jenyns served as a member of Parliament from 1754 to 1780. He also served on the Board of Trade, a group that helped oversee trade policies and regulations for the entire empire. His pamphlet was very popular in England because it supported the Parliament's position on taxing the colonies. Excerpts from the pamphlet along with questions are provided in this resource.

This text complements resources 16, 18, 19, 21 and 25-28.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to make a list of all the objections that Jenyns made to Parliament's plan to tax the colonies. Then have them make a list of all the reasons why Parliament should be able to tax the colonies; this second list should include all the reasons that Loyalists, the king, Parliament as well as the common citizens of England might have given for taxing the colonies and colonists. Have them consider the statements on both lists. Have them decide which list more represents what would be fairer to all the citizens of the British Empire at the time. Then have them justify their choice as to the fairer way to treat the colonies and colonists.

b. Ask students to develop a plan that would increase revenues to the royal treasury and to merchants in England; this should be a plan that Jenyns would agree to support. Have them explain how their plan satisfies Jenyns's objections. Have them compare their plans with the Acts of Parliament passed between 1765 and 1774 regarding the colonies. Have them make a list of reasons why their plan would have worked better than the Acts of Parliament during this period.

c. Ask students to imagine that they were members of Parliament who believed that Parliament had the right and authority to tax the colonies. They had just heard Jenyns give this speech before all members of the House of Commons in Parliament, and they need to respond to his proposals. Have them study Jenyns' statement and write a well-organized, clearly argued rebuttal.

d. Ask students to compare the content and ideas regarding liberty and rights in Jenyns' speech with those in the Virginia Stamp Act Resolves (resource 18) and the Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress (resource 21). Have them make a list of the areas where they are similar and different. Have them consider what Parliament would have to do to satisfy both of these resolutions. Have them imagine that they were a member of Parliament who voted for the Stamp Act, agreed with Jenyns, and had read the two lists of resolutions from the colonists. Have them articulate, in an argumentative essay, the best actions for Parliament to take in January 1766 regarding the colonies.

e. Have students describe how their lives and the conditions in society would be affected if no government collected taxes. Have them decide whether lowering or dropping taxes or a particular tax is always the best decision for a government to make. For example, do certain taxes target particular members of the population unfairly? Is there a particular regressive tax which students think should be repealed or decreased?

RESOURCE 23: TAR'D AND FEATHER'D

Beginning in 1765 with colonial opposition to the Stamp Act and continuing through the Revolutionary War, a number of men were "tar'd and feather'd." The statements in this resource describe what was typically done to someone who underwent this punishment. These descriptions reveal that being tarred and feathered was rarely all that was done to the person. Often they were paraded about the town or treated with disrespect in other ways. Although rare, women were also subjected to this treatment. There is no record of the total number of Tories (i.e., Loyalists) or rebels who were treated in this way. Consequently, we cannot accurately estimate the number who were killed because of the tarring and feathering process or the acts subsequent to feathering.

This text complements resource 7. For illustrations and references to this punishment, see the SET OF GRAPHICS *(6, 8).*

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask half of the students to write a story as though they were the ones doing the tarring and feathering of a royal official upholding his legal duties. Ask the other half to write a story as though they were the royal official being tarred and feathered. Have both sides begin their stories the day before the event and end it two days after the event. Have them include samples of the actions, words and feelings of everyone who either participated in or witnessed the event. They may want to create a series of diary entries or narrative. Finally, have them compare the two completed versions.

b. Ask students to make a list of reasons why tarring and feathering would be consistent and inconsistent with the concept of liberty. Ask them to consider how doing this could be justified by people who thought their civil rights were being taken from them.

RESOURCE 24: "THE LIBERTY SONG"

This song stresses several of the colonists' causes and encourages others to support the colonists by resisting tyranny and preserving liberty. The words were first published by John Dickinson in 1768. The song was usually sung to the tune of "Hearts of Oak."

This text complements resource 6. For other poems and songs, see resources 19, 30, 34, 38, 47 and 49. For sources on music of the revolutionary era, see the Reference List.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to use the visual images in the song to create a cartoon or drawing depicting the actions, situation and sentiments in the song or verse.

b. Ask students to define cause in the context of the statement "He supported the colonial cause." Have them contrast that definition with the one for cause such as "The causes of the riot were. . . ." Have them clarify the differences between the two meanings of this one word.

c. Ask students to examine other poems and songs of this period. Have them locate commonalties among them, especially key words, expressions or symbols. Have them determine why there are many similarities among the works.

d. Have students locate patriotic songs available today and compare them to the words and ideas used in songs of the revolutionary era. Have them compare the words in these songs and explain similarities and differences.

RESOURCE 25: CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PROPRIETY OF IMPOSING TAXES IN THE BRITISH COLONIES FOR THE PURPOSE OF RAISING A REVENUE BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT BY DANIEL DULANY (OCTOBER 1765)

A lawyer from Maryland, Daniel Dulany agreed with some of the views of Parliament concerning taxation. He opposed the idea that Parliament could levy and collect internal taxes inside the colonies. He did believe that Parliament could levy, enforce and collect external taxes for the benefit of the empire. Eventually, he became a Loyalist. Many of the ideas in Dulany's pamphlets were later used by members of Parliament in the debates on colonial policies. He also argued against the view that many leaders of the colonial opposition had regarding taxation and authority of Parliament to levy taxes. This resource provides a number of ideas that were favored by most members of Parliament.

This text complements resources 18, 19, 21 and 22. For sources on the Crown's, British and Loyalist views, see the Reference List.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to compare Dulany's views on the issues of taxation and the authority of Parliament to levy and collect taxes with those included in the Virginia Resolves (resource 18) and Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress (resource 21). Have them determine with which text Dulany would most disagree. Ask them to justify their reasons by citing specific evidence from the texts. They could also do this exercise focusing on the issues of liberty and citizens' rights rather than taxation.

b. Ask students to imagine that they were colonists protesting Parliament's imposition of the Stamp Act. Have them write a letter to Dulany that would accurately reflect an opposing point of view. Tell them to make sure their letter addresses at least five major ideas Dulany would like them to believe.

c. Ask students to design a broadside, cartoon or drawing that would express different points of view towards what Dulany said in this speech or Dulany. Have them share their works and take turns interpreting them to see how persuasively they presented their ideas. Have them decide which work might have attracted the most attention were it distributed within days of Dulany's speech. For examples of broadsides and cartoons, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (6, 10, 11, 17, 25) and resource 32.

RESOURCE 26: LETTER TO LORD BARRINGTON FROM SIR FRANCIS BERNARD, ROYAL GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS (NOVEMBER 23, 1765)

As royal governor appointed by the king, Sir Francis Bernard enthusiastically followed the views of King George III and Parliament. As one would expect, he stubbornly defended the king's and Parliament's views both in public and in private. He was an especially strong supporter of these views in dealing with the General Assembly of the colony. This letter presents some of the views that he believes are correct and reveals some of his analysis of the protesting colonists' positions.

This text complements resources 22, 27 and 28. For sources on the Crown's, British and Loyalist views, see the Reference List.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to respond to this letter as though they were a Loyalist to the position of Parliament at this time. The letter could be addressed to an imaginary friend in the colonies. They may first want to list ideas from the speech that would most represent their views. The letter could summarize Bernard's ideas and state what should be done to those colonists who opposed his views. Students could then respond to each other's letters by writing in opposition to Parliament's position.

b. Ask students to imagine that they were reporters for either a pro-Parliament or a pro-colonial resistance newspaper in the colonies. Have them write a story or editorial that states the important ideas in Bernard's letter and, if appropriate, their personal opinions about the contents of this letter and the man who wrote it. For students who want to draw, have them create a political cartoon that supports or challenges Bernard's position as stated in this letter.

c. Ask students to determine the areas how the contents and positions in this statement are similar to and different from those of Jenyns, Grenville and Camden provided (resources 22, 27 and 28). They should cite evidence from the texts to support their positions. Have them describe what these differences reveal about the unity of members of Parliament towards taking action in the colonies.

RESOURCE 27: SPEECH BEFORE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS BY GEORGE GRENVILLE (JANUARY 14, 1766)

George Grenville wanted to reform, modernize and improve the administration and protection of the empire. The victory in the French and Indian War in 1763 greatly expanded the empire, especially in North America. The vast western territories over the Appalachian Mountains and around the Great Lakes needed to be secure against Indian attacks. Since the British troops began withdrawing from the thirteen colonies, the colonists complained about their lack of armed protection in case of Indian uprisings. Furthermore, Grenville and nearly all members of Parliament were concerned about the lack of enforcement of British laws in the area of colonial trade. Smuggling goods and paying off royal officials to overlook the laws were very common. These actions cost the empire a great deal of money. At the same time, all members of Parliament were concerned about making reforms and collecting revenues without violating the civil rights and liberty of the colonists. Preserving the rights of English citizens was foremost in the minds and intentions of Parliament in 1763 and on into 1766, the year of this speech.

In January 1766, Grenville investigated the colonists' verbal and behavioral opposition to the Stamp Act and the royal officials' efforts in the colonies to enforce it. He was upset that the colonists' representatives had been given almost a year before the Stamp Act was passed to propose changes to it and to suggest alternative ways of collecting revenues for the defense of the colonies. Moreover, he was disturbed that the colonists did not know that their representatives had the right to appeal on their behalf. In addition, he was angry because the colonists challenged Parliament's authority over the colonies, including the right to collect revenues from them.

This text complements resources 14, 15, 22, 26 and 28.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to respond to this speech as though they were a Loyalist in support of the position of Parliament. They could write a letter to an imaginary friend in the colonies supporting these views. It might include a summary of these ideas and a statement of what should be done to those colonists who opposed Grenville's views. In preparation, they may want to make a list of the ideas from Grenville's speech that would most represent their views. Students could then respond to each other's letters by writing in opposition to Parliament's position at this time.

b. Ask students to examine the role and power of the prime minister of Britain during the period of the 1760s and 1770s. Have them describe the importance of the prime minister's speech over the words of other ministers or members of Parliament. Ask them to investigate the extent to which the prime minister was influenced by the king on important issues. Have them investigate the extent to which the prime minister could have his own position on an issue. Finally, have them report on whether Grenville's statements in this resource were primarily his own position or those of King George III.

c. Ask students to imagine that they were reporters for either a pro-Parliament or a pro-colonial resistance newspaper in the colonies. Have them write a story or editorial that states the important ideas in this speech, the purposes for Grenville's stating his position before Parliament, and an analysis of the ideas in this speech and about Grenville himself.

d. Ask students to compare the content and ideas regarding liberty and rights in this speech with the statements included in the Virginia Resolves (resource 18) and the Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress (resource 21). Ask them to make a list of the areas where they are similar and different. Have them make a plan for Parliament which would satisfy both of these resolutions.

RESOURCE 28: SPEECH ON AMERICAN TAXATION BEFORE THE HOUSE OF LORDS BY LORD CAMDEN (FEBRUARY 24, 1766)

As early as 1765 Lord Camden, a member of Parliament, constructed ideas about the role of Parliament and the issue of taxation that were close to those of the protesters in the colonies. These ideas included clarification of the constitutional position of Parliament. His view was very different from that of most members of Parliament and the ministry. In this speech he tried to convince Parliament to change its laws and attitude towards the colonies. He was not successful.

This text complements resources 18, 19, 21, 22 and 25-27.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to support this speech in a letter to an imaginary colonist who does not support Camden's views. They may first want to make a list of the ideas from the speech that would most represent their views. This letter should summarize Camden's ideas and state what should be done to those colonists who opposed their views. They could also do this exercise writing from the point of view of a Loyalist to a colonist who supports Camden's ideas.

RESOURCE 29: EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS OF THE BOSTON MASSACRE (1770)

This resource includes four accounts of what took place in Boston at approximately 9:00 P.M. on March 5, 1770. Over an hour beforehand, a crowd started to gather around the lone guard standing watch near the Customs House. Several in the crowd started harassing him, provoking him to strike them. They cursed, insulted, crowded and threatened him, and they even started throwing things at him. Feeling he was in danger, he called for more guards. Quickly nine regulars along with Captain Thomas Preston, the officer of the day, came to his aid. The insults and curses became louder and more abusive. The crowd threw snowballs and moved about in a way that increased the anxiety of the guards. Suddenly, someone yelled "Fire!" and the regulars fired. Within seconds, three men were dead and eight were wounded. Two of the wounded died within days. There was no evidence that anyone fired at the guards.

For illustrations, see the SET OF GRAPHICS *(3, 4). See resource 30 for more exercises on the Boston Massacre and resource 39 for some on the Westminster Massacre.*

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to locate and read other eyewitness accounts of these events and to find graphics of these events. Ask them to develop a narrative story of the events as if they were a participant or observer. Have them try to determine what really happened that evening and state the reasons why they believe their version is accurate.

b. Ask students to define massacre and report the details from eyewitnesses that would support and not support the fact that one actually occurred in Boston on that evening. Have them imagine that they were editors for the morning's paper following this event. Have them write the headline and accompanying story.

c. Ask students to examine graphics of the Boston Massacre drawn shortly after March 5, 1770, and years later. After they have read various accounts of the events at the moment the shots were fired, have them evaluate the accuracy of each graphic. Have them decide whether the discrepancies in the graphics were likely to be purposeful or accidental. Can they determine why there might be purposeful distortions in the graphics? Which graphic do they think comes closest to what actually happened that evening?

d. Ask students to define propaganda and make a list of the characteristics and purposes of propaganda. Ask students to make a list of reasons why there would be so many reports of massacres in colonial newspapers of the time. Have them investigate the purposes of propaganda. Have them evaluate reports of massacres to see if they are works of propaganda or factual reporting. How does colonial reporting compare with modern news coverage?

RESOURCE 30: POEM WRITTEN AFTER THE BOSTON MASSACRE (AUTHOR UNKNOWN) (OCTOBER 1770)

During the revolutionary era, many people used songs and poems to express their thoughts and feelings. This poem expresses the narrator's thoughts about the men charged in the deaths of the innocents. It also provides a unique view of the events of the evening of March 5, 1770.

For illustrations, see the SET OF GRAPHICS *(3, 4). See resource 29 for more exercises on the Boston Massacre and resource 39 for some on the Westminster Massacre. For other poems and songs, see resources 19, 24, 34, 38, 47 and 49.*

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to define massacre, and report the details from eyewitnesses that would support and not support the fact that a massacre actually occurred in Boston on that evening. Ask them to imagine that they were editors and have them write the headlines for the next morning's paper following this event.

b. Ask students to locate and read other eyewitness accounts of these events and to find graphics of these events. Have them compare the details in these accounts with those in this poem. Ask them to evaluate the accuracy of this poem in depicting this event by citing specific evidence from the text. Ask students to state the likely purposes of this poem. Have them state the reasons the poet would have described the events in the way that he or she did.

RESOURCE 31: SPEECH TO THE MASSACHUSETTS ASSEMBLY BY THOMAS HUTCHINSON, ROYAL GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS (JANUARY 6, 1773)

Royal governors tended to be intensely loyal to Britain, the British system, Parliament and the monarch. In part this was because they were appointed by the Crown. But that would not have mattered to most. They were men who wanted to serve their country and were dedicated to the system that made the British the freest people in the world. No people enjoyed more liberty and civil rights than the British. These men believed that it was the English system of government and the authority of Parliament that brought all these benefits to the citizens. They also believed that following the law was one's duty so that liberty, freedom and civil rights would be protected rather than restricted.

In this speech, Thomas Hutchinson made it very clear what his view was on a number of issues that had been raised during the protests. One should not be surprised with his obvious support of the British system of government on behalf of liberty. Should not a governor to be just as loyal and devoted to his/her nation and what it stands for as Hutchinson was for the way of life he was sworn to protect and preserve? In every age we look for political and government leaders who are intensely loyal to their nation and its way of life. Hutchinson was well aware of the rights and freedoms British citizens enjoyed even in the colonies.

This text complements resource 7.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to make a list of Royal Governor Hutchinson's main points in this statement. Have them explain why the colonists were upset by his ideas and why Loyalists to the Crown would be pleased with his speech.

b. Ask students to assess the contents of this speech in terms of Hutchinson's loyalties to the Crown and British Constitution, the law of the land as enacted by Parliament, and law and order inside the colony of Massachusetts. Have them imagine that they were Hutchinson and had a intense loyalty to all three of these legal obligations. If they had governed a colony for three years that had experienced much lawlessness and intimidation of royal officials, what actions would they have taken to restore calm and lawful behavior in the colony?

c. Ask students to imagine that they were a member of Parliament who had voted for the Stamp Act, agreed with Hutchinson, and had read the reports of the lawless behavior occurring in the colonies. Have them outline specific actions for Parliament to take in January 1773 regarding the colonies.

d. Ask students to imagine that they were Hutchinson and had experienced firsthand the lawless behaviors occurring in the colonies in the name of English citizenship. Have them imagine that several years earlier the colonists had burned down their (i.e., Hutchinson's) house and all of its possessions in protest of actions by Parliament. Then have them describe the specific actions they would recommend in January 1773 for Parliament to take in the colonies. Finally, have them compare their recommended actions with the decisions Parliament did make to settle the problems with the colonies. (Exercises c and d could be combined. Students could role play members of Parliament and Hutchinson and engage in a dialogue or debate.)

e. Ask students to imagine that they were reporters for either a pro-Parliament or a pro-colonial resistance newspaper in the colonies. Have them write a story or editorial that summarizes Hutchinson's speech, explains its relevance, and contains their analysis of Hutchinson's speech and Royal Governor Thomas Hutchinson.

RESOURCE 32: THE TEA NEVER SHOULD BE LANDED BROADSIDE, BOSTON (DECEMBER 2, 1773)

A broadside was a single printed sheet of any size which contained a text and often drawings. Broadsides were a way of informing people about an event, person or idea. They rarely advertised items for sale. Rather, they publicized someone's idea on a topic or announced an event or message. Today, broadsides have been replaced by posters, billboards or message boards. But in colonial times they were powerful tools for informing an large audience. Besides word of mouth, broadsides were the quickest and easiest way to inform and even rally people. This resource is one broadside about the dumping of tea in Boston Harbor.

This text complements resources 33, 34 and 38. For another example of a broadside, see the SET OF GRAPHICS *(10).*

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to investigate the history and use of broadsides during this period. They should examine the purposes, formats and possible impact of the messages on the thinking of people in the colonies and in Britain. Have them locate reproductions of other broadsides or find through various sources the messages that were printed on some of them.

b. Ask students to image themselves living in the colonies and being in opposition to Parliament and the royal officials. Have them describe what they would have done had they seen this broadside posted along the streets of Boston. Then have them reveal the reasons for their actions. They can repeat this exercise from the position of a supporter of the Crown.

c. Ask students to find modern examples of broadsides. Do they have the same format (single sheets of paper)? Is the use of color or graphics similar? Do we use as much or more text in our modern equivalents of broadsides? Do internet messages constitute broadsides? Have them explain the reasons why they think these modern versions serve purposes similar to (or different from) those of colonial broadsides.

d. Ask students to state the possible advantages and disadvantages of spreading news in the colonies through broadsides. Ask students to take an event, issue or activity during this period and create their own broadsides. Have students compare the contents of each broadside in terms of content, accuracy, visual attractiveness, and other criteria that they find important.

RESOURCE 33: EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS OF THE BOSTON TEA PARTY (DECEMBER 1773)

There are a number of eyewitness accounts of the Boston Tea Party. Excerpts from three of these accounts are provided here. There is also a quotation representing John Adams's reaction to the event. These excerpts provide many details of what happened and tend to collaborate the accounts given by other eyewitnesses.

This text complements resources 32, 34 and 38. For an illustration of the Boston Tea Party, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (9).

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to define the term party in the context of the Boston Tea Party. Then have them summarize the details given by the eyewitnesses that do or do not support the fact that a party actually occurred in Boston on that evening. Ask them to write the headline and accompanying article for the next morning's paper.

b. Ask students to locate and read other eyewitness accounts of the Boston Tea Party and to find graphics of the event. Ask them to compare the details in these accounts with those in the poem "Rally, Mohawks!" (resource 34). Ask them why a person might have described the event in the form of a poem. What are the merits and demerits of using a poem and of using a graphic to express one's interpretation of an event? See also the illustration of women's resistance to Parliament's acts in the SET OF GRAPHICS (7).

c. Ask students to determine whether or not the dumping of the tea and boarding of the ships were criminal acts. If they do consider them criminal acts, ask them why such an event which involved two such criminal acts was celebrated in 1773 and in modern society. Can they find comparable events that involve breaking laws but are similarly celebrated today?

d. Ask students to play the roles of members on a jury. They are to judge the participants in the Boston Tea Party who are now being tried for illegal trespass and destruction of property. Have them come to a consensus of the accused persons's guilt or innocence. (This exercise could be expanded into a mock trial with students acting the part of the Boston Tea Party participants and their lawyers.)

e. Ask students to interpret the events from the perspective of one of the protesters who participated in this event. Have them imagine that they were one of the most active people in opening up the boxes of tea and throwing the tea overboard. Ask them what they would have thought as they boarded a boat, lifted the boxes of tea from the cargo bay, opened the boxes and dumped the tea overboard. Then have them state the reasons why they would have participated in this event.

f. Ask students to imagine that they were a member of Parliament and had just heard the news of the dumping of the tea in Boston Harbor. Have them describe their reactions to this event and their feelings towards the colonists who participated. Have them describe what they thought Parliament should do about the dumping of the tea. Then have them compare what they might have done as a member of Parliament with the actions that Parliament actually took in 1774.

RESOURCE 34: "RALLY, MOHAWKS!" (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

This poem was the most popular one published in Boston shortly after the Boston Tea Party. It represents one person's views of this event and the participants.

This text complements resources 32, 33 and 38. For other poems and songs, see resources 19, 24, 30, 38, 47 and 49.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to decide on the major theme of this poem and to state information in the poem that would support this theme. What emotions does the poet evokes in this piece? Why?

b. Ask students to determine from the words in this poem whether or not the Boston Tea Party was a planned or spontaneous event. Were the key participants known to many Bostonians? (I.e., did they try to conceal their identity? Would people have known of their plans?) Why did no one revealed the participants' names so that they could be arrested and tried for their actions?

c. Ask students to take the information that they have about the Tea Party and write more verses to this poem's two verses.

d. Ask students to review other accounts of the Boston Tea Party and point out how these accounts compare with information given in this poem.

RESOURCE 35: A PUBLIC EXECUTION BY THE SONS OF LIBERTY

The Sons of Liberty in all the colonies participated in a number of activities. Their major purpose was to make sure that their rights, as they perceived them, were being protected from those whom they believed threatened them. The execution described here in Farmington, Connecticut, took place on or about May 19, 1774. Such actions were not unusual for these men.

This text complements resource 20.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to make a list of reasons why a person or group would symbolically execute a representation or actual copy of a law. Ask them what else these men could have used instead of a document. Have them describe what these Sons of Liberty hoped to achieve by their actions.

b. Ask students to describe how this event might have helped or hindered the efforts by the Sons of Liberty protect their liberty and rights.

c. Ask students to create a drawing or cartoon that would illustrate the events at a public execution by the Sons of Liberty. Have them explain why members of this group would conduct a public execution as described in this resource. Have them describe events in their lives today that would serve the same purposes that these public executions served the Sons of Liberty.

d. Ask students to investigate other actions by the Sons of Liberty and make a list of each type of activity in which they were known to have participated. Have them subdivide this list of activities into ones that they believe might have been the most and least effective to help them achieve their goals. What are the major differences between these lists? How can they explain common features in these lists?

RESOURCE 36: EXCERPTS FROM THE QUEBEC ACT (JUNE 22, 1774)

At the time when the Americans in the thirteen colonies were very concerned about a conspiracy of Parliament and the king to impose their rule on them, King George decided to grant the people in the recently won colony of Quebec the right to practice Catholicism. Already the majority of non-Anglican Christians in the colonies feared the king might establish the Anglican religion as the only official and acceptable religion in the colonies. Most colonists believed that people should be free to practice their own religion. But the king's concession to the Canadians seemed a possible first step to impose Catholicism, if not Anglicanism, on all the colonists of North America. Both religions were controlled by a strong ruler—Catholicism by a pope, Anglicanism by the English monarch. Thus, instead of seeing this act as a means of extending religious freedom and tolerance, the non-Anglican Protestants in the colonies saw this act as a first and major step in the opposite direction.

This text complements resource 14.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to investigate the attitudes of most Americans in the thirteen colonies toward Catholics. Ask them to list all the reasons why the colonists did not approve of Catholicism and Catholics.

b. Ask students to investigate the provisions of the Quebec Act. Have them make a list of each provision in this act and decide whether it supports or threatens the colonists' expansion into the western territory.

c. Ask students to consider the provisions in the Quebec Act to determine whether it promoted the civil rights of the French who lived in Quebec. Have them imagine that they were one of the people who had just read the act. Have them write a letter as a Canadian to King George III to express their ideas on his approval of the act. Or have them write from the point of view of a colonial settler who moved into the western territory after 1763.

RESOURCE 37: CONSIDERATIONS ON THE AUTHORITY OF PARLIAMENT BY JAMES WILSON (AUGUST 1774)

This resource consists of excerpts from a pamphlet written by James Wilson of Philadelphia. The pamphlet is the first published statement that clearly outlines and defends the colonial position concerning Parliament and the British Constitution. Wilson claimed that the colonies were linked to Britain only by their allegiance to king. Because of this bond, Parliament was outside the constitutional concerns of the colonies. Therefore, according to Wilson, Parliament was not a government body that had authority over the colonies or the colonial governments.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Have students list the major points of the colonists' position on Parliament's authority as outlined by Wilson. Then ask students to explain the connection of each of these points to liberty, authority, sovereignty, freedom and rights. Have them state the specific areas where Parliament and the opposing colonists might have differed in their positions on each of these concepts.

b. Ask students to imagine that they were a member of Parliament and had just read Wilson's pamphlet. Have them write a letter that a member of the ruling party in the Parliament might have written to Wilson in reaction to his statement. Or they could write the letter as a member of the Sons of Liberty or as King George. (See resources 20 and 35 on the Sons of Liberty.)

RESOURCE 38: A SONG IN SUPPORT OF AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO THE CROWN (1774)

Thousands of songs and poems were written during the revolutionary era, many to tunes or rhymes well known at the time. The words in this resource were first sung during 1774 when the regulars occupied Boston after the port was officially closed to all trade. The Crown forces were punishing Bostonians for participating in the Boston Tea Party and trying to persuade them to obey the Acts of Parliament. It was written when Boston was trying to convince other colonies to join Massachusetts against the king and Parliament. Joseph Warren, a highly respected citizen of Boston, is the probable author of this particular song. He died in June 1775 during the Battle of Breed's Hill.

This text complements resources 32-34. For other poems and songs, see resources 19, 24, 30, 34, 47 and 49.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to determine the main theme of this song and to cite the words in it that supports this theme. Ask students to state the reasons Joseph Warren might have had for selecting these particular words for a song. Have them describe the narrator's attitudes towards the opposition colonists as well as the Crown and royal authority.

b. Ask students to create a rebus for the song. For examples of rebuses, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (19, 20).

c. Ask students to write one or two more verses based on the information they now have about the intentions and actions by Parliament and the king. Ask them to explain their choice of words.

RESOURCE 39: IN MEMORY OF WILLIAM FRENCH

This resource contains a newspaper account of a two-day riot in New York along with an epitaph written on the slate tombstone of William French, killed during the Westminster Massacre on March 13, 1775. People opposed to the official royal government seized control of the courthouse and obstructed justice and law enforcement officials from doing their jobs. Finally, government officials restored law and order. William French, one of the rioters, was the only person killed. The next day, March 14, an estimated 500 colonists again used arms, violence and unlawful actions to shut down government business. They seized the courthouse and imprisoned any officials and Loyalists whom they found. Many of the prisoners were threatened with severe harm or were injured by the band of ruffians.

For texts on the Boston Massacre and complementary exercises, see resources 29 (an eyewitness's account) and 30.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to define massacre. Have them report details from eyewitnesses that would prove or disprove that a massacre actually occurred in Westminster that evening. Have them write the headline and accompanying story on this event for the next morning's paper.

b. Ask students to create a tombstone and an epitaph for a Loyalist had he or she been killed in this riot. Have them state the reasons why they would have created the particular design for the tombstone and chosen the words that they did.

RESOURCE 40: THE "GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH" SPEECH BY PATRICK HENRY (MARCH 23, 1775)

Patrick Henry's speech, or at least a few words from it, is among the most famous in American history. Whether or not he actually said "Give me liberty or give me death" is unknown. This speech was given in Richmond, not Williamsburg, Virginia. In those days there were no transcribers who took down every word a person spoke. Often people in the audience, such as an interested observer, friend or member of the assembly, would take notes of speeches. These notes often left details out or rephrased actual statements. In some instances, statements were revised or added by the time a final version was printed.

This text complements resource 6.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to create two definitions of liberty: their own and one that Henry might have given. (They may want to do resource 6 first.) Have them use words from Henry's speech to justify this definition. Have them compare their definition with the one which Henry might have given. Ask them whether Henry would have accepted their definitions. Ask them to state what they would be willing to do or what they have done to preserve their liberty and civil rights.

b. Have students explain what Henry might have meant by the expression "Give me liberty or give me death!" Have them decide whether the fact that Henry was not arrested for making this speech was evidence that he already had the liberty that he talked about.

c. Ask students to create a definition of treason. Have them decide whether or not Henry's speech was treasonous and give reasons for their judgments. If it were not an act of treason, have them decide what Henry would have had to have done to be guilty of treason.

d. Ask students to design a broadsides that express different points of view towards what Henry's speech or Henry himself. Have them decide which work might have attracted the most attention were it distributed within days of Henry's speech. (One cartoon in the SET OF GRAPHICS [17] depicts a position opposing Henry's—England trying to retain control of the colonies.)

e. Ask students to make a list of all the ideas Henry's speech that were new ideas for the colonists to use in their opposition to Parliament and King George III. Have them compare the ideas in this speech with the ideas that Thomas Jefferson, a fellow Virginian, incorporated into the Declaration of Independence. Have them discuss why there was so little or so much overlap in the ideas in these texts.

f. Ask students to give their impressions of Henry's speech, particularly his last line, as individuals in the late twentieth century. Have them explain why Henry might have said that he would rather die than not have liberty. Have them discuss whether or not they would be willing to give up everything in order to preserve liberty.

g. Ask students to prepare a rebuttal speech that they might have given at the next meeting of the House of Burgesses or Loyalist gathering. Have them explain why they believe their speech would be a persuasive rebuttal to Henry's remarks. Or they could have a debate between Henry and an opponent.

h. Students could stage a press conference with representatives from colonists' and Loyalists' newspapers to discuss the pros and cons of Henry's speech.

RESOURCE 41: ORDERS BY GENERAL THOMAS GAGE TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL SMITH TO SEIZE AND DESTROY THE MUNITIONS AT CONCORD (APRIL 18, 1775)

On April 14, General Thomas Gage alerted his officers that he was concerned about the build-up of munitions at Concord, a city about fifteen miles from Boston. He knew that the rebels had an early warning system using riders on horseback. He informed his officers that in a few days he would probably have to send regulars out to seize these materiels. He proposed two routes and sent out more cavalry to stop or reduce the number of riders who might warn the people in Concord. Then, in the early evening of April 18, Gage decided that the regulars should leave that night so that they would be less noticeable and arrive at dawn in Concord.

See the related broadside in the SET OF GRAPHICS (10).

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to make a list of reasons why General Gage might have issued these orders. Then have them discuss whether his decision was a responsible or an irresponsible one.

b. Ask students to imagine that they were General Gage. They had heard of the weaponry and ammunition stored in Concord and of the Bostonians' generally uneasy feelings towards the regulars. With these conditions in mind, have them decide what they would have done about this materiel. Have them outline orders that they would have issued. Have them state the reasons for their decision. What would be the likelihood that their directives would have restored law and order in the colony?

c. Ask students to imagine that they were one of the leaders of the colonial resistance who helped to get munitions and store them in Concord, a short distance from Boston. They had just heard of General Gage's orders and must decide what they will do. Have them state the reasons why they would have responded in this way.

RESOURCE 42: WHAT HAPPENED ON THE EVENING OF APRIL 18 AND EARLY MORNING OF APRIL 19, 1775? BY PAUL REVERE

The ride of Paul Revere on the evening of April 18 and the early morning of April 19, 1775, is one of the most famous of this era. The statement below is his account of the events. Other sources provide more details. We do know that he did not shout, "The British are coming!" This would have made no sense because he and the colonists were themselves British. What he did in fact yell was, "The regulars are coming!" Those words were enough to wake up the entire countryside and motivate men, boys and some women to arms.

This text complements resource 43. Resource 65 contains another text by Revere. For a picture by him, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (4).

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to read David H. Fischer's *Paul Revere's Ride* (see the REFERENCE LIST). Have them examine the details of his ride and Revere's actions that night and the next day. Have them make a list of some of the most interesting facts about Revere's efforts. Have them decide whether Paul Revere was a very important or an insignificant person among the leaders of the opposition colonists in Massachusetts. What were his various roles? What specifically did he do on behalf of the colonial cause?

b. Ask students to investigate the arrangements that the colonists made to alert others that the regulars were on the road coming out of Boston. Have them examine the network of men and routes that would have quickly notified so many colonists. Have them consider whether this early warning system was in existence for a short or long period of time. Have them state the reasons why the people of Massachusetts in the spring of 1775 believed that they needed a warning system such as this.

c. Ask students to imagine they had been one of the patrol soldiers who kept Paul Revere and his two fellow messengers from completing their rides that evening. Then have them write a journal entry or a letter which they might have written one or two days later following the news that Revere and others had successfully warned people in the countryside that the regulars were coming.

d. Ask students to read Ralph Waldo Emerson's poem "Concord Hymn"; William Wadsworth Longfellow's poem "*Paul Revere's Ride*"; and portions of David H. Fischer's Paul Revere's Ride, which is the most in-depth historical analysis of the events of April 18 and 19, 1775. (See the Reference List for Fischer's book.) Have them compare the facts about Lexington and Concord in the poems with what actually seems to have happened. Have them point out the errors in the poems and explain why these errors may have occurred. Were these faults by the author or intentional distortions of history? Have them summarize the major themes of the poems as well as the poets' likely purposes in writing them.

RESOURCE 43: AN EYEWITNESS TO THE EVENTS IN LEXINGTON BY ELIZA (APRIL 19, 1841)

There were numerous eyewitness accounts of what happened on Lexington Green the morning of April 19, 1775. Nearly all of these eyewitnesses wrote down or reported what they saw and experienced within a few days or weeks of the event. This resource is a letter written by a woman named Eliza sixty-six years after the event.

This text complements resource 42.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to investigate other accounts of the events in Lexington on that day and compare the details in these accounts with those reported by Eliza. Have them make a list of the details in Eliza's story that are supported and not supported by these other accounts. Have them explain the reasons why there might be discrepancies in the two versions.

b. Ask students to locate the eyewitness reports of others who said they were at Lexington Green that morning. (Peter Bennett's What Happened on Lexington Green? contains a number of these accounts. See the **Reference List.**) Have them read these accounts and construct their own version of what happened that morning. Then have them conduct a trial in which they accuse a member of the militia or one of the regulars of starting the conflict.

c. Ask students to make a list of reasons why the colonists in Lexington, after April 19, 1775, either did not try to find out who fired the first shot on that morning or did not announce the name of the person who did it. Then have them imagine that they were from Lexington and found out that a colonist was responsible. Finally, have them consider the reasons why the person who actually fired that first shot never made public his/her identity.

RESOURCE 44: ABIGAIL ADAMS EXPRESSES HER SUPPORT FOR BLACKS (SEPTEMBER 1774)

Abigail Adams, the wife of John Adams, was no typical women of this era. She had a number of ideas that today are considered progressive. She was concerned about a number of issues associated with rights and freedom. This resource reflects her concerns about blacks. The text also reveals a number of Abigail Adams's other political ideas. Note that the use of the word Negroes was common in her time.

This text complements resources 45, 56, 57, 64 and 66. See also resource 57 (on freeing slaves) and resource 59 (John Adams on voting rights). For sources on women and blacks in this era, see the **Reference List.**

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to investigate the life and ideas of Abigail Adams, especially during the revolutionary era. Ask them to report on the ideas that she had that today would be considered ahead of her time. Ask them to locate other statements that she made about blacks to see if she was consistent in her views.

b. Ask students to investigate Abigail Adams's views on the roles and rights of women. Have them look for consistencies in her views about women. Then have them investigate the letters of John Adams in response to her concerns about extending rights to women. Have them decide whether her husband valued her ideas and defended them or merely tolerated her ideas.

c. Ask students to design a cartoon or drawing that would express different points of view towards the contents of this letter or Abigail Adams. Have them decide which work might have attracted the most attention were it distributed within days of when Abigail wrote her letter. For examples of contemporary pictures related to women's roles, see the Set of Graphics (2, 7).

d. Ask students to investigate the lives and ideas of other women during this period. Have them make a list of women who took an active role in either supporting the resistance to Parliament and the royal officials or supporting the Parliament and the king. Have them locate letters, speeches or other documents that contained the thoughts and feelings of these women. Have them make a list of statements that represent the best ideas of these women. Then have them write a story on the ideas of these women and their importance to either side of this conflict.

RESOURCE 45: PETITION FROM A "GRATE NUMBER OF BLACKES" TO THE ROYAL GOVERNOR AND GENERAL OF THE ARMY THOMAS GAGE, BOSTON (MAY 25, 1775)

This resource is an excerpt from a petition from a "Grate Number of Blackes" of the Province of Massachusetts. It was written and signed by a large number of blacks who delivered it on May 25, 1775, to the newly-appointed Royal Governor and General of the Army Thomas Gage and to the general court of Boston. Many blacks in Massachusetts believed that war was inevitable and that the time was ripe to ask for the rights and liberties granted to all non-blacks. Petitions like this had been sent to leaders of the colonial opposition as well. But this particular petition, like all the ones before and after, was not acted upon. Please note that those who wrote and signed this petition used the orthography Blackes.

This text complements resources 44, 56, 57, 64 and 66. For sources on blacks and the revolution, see the **Reference List.**

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to make a list of the writers' main arguments in this petition. Ask them to cite specific parts of the petition that support each of these points. Have them rank these points in the order of their importance to these blacks. Have them decide what the most important results were that these people wanted as consequences of their petition.

b. Ask students to investigate the history of blacks during the American revolutionary era. Have them describe some ways that they achieved freedom and obtained the same civil rights that were extended to all white citizens of the empire.

c. Ask students to read Abigail Adams's views on blacks (resource 44). Have them decide whether Abigail would have supported or rejected this petition. Have them select statements from Abigail Adams's own writings that justify their evaluation of her position.

d. Have students imagine that they were black slaves during this era who had the opportunity to fight for the king in exchange for freedom and the protection of the Crown after the war. In a well organized, thesis-supported argumentative essays, have them explain which side they would have fought for in this situation.

RESOURCE 46: PROCLAMATION TO THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON TO TURN IN THEIR FIREARMS ISSUED BY GENERAL THOMAS GAGE (JUNE 19, 1775)

This resource is the proclamation that General Thomas Gage issued the city of Boston two months after the events at Lexington and Concord. On June 17 he captured Bunker and Breed's Hills at a terrible price of dead and wounded. He was now concerned that the colonists inside Boston might rise up against him. Gage's army was restricted to the area immediately around Boston, and the rebelling colonists were building trenches and defenses that prevented the regulars from leaving the city. Gage now prepared to make Boston as safe as he could for his troops and the citizens. In this document he states that those who fail to turn in their arms will be considered traitors.

See the SET OF GRAPHICS *for a related broadside(10) and for a painting of the Battle of Bunker Hill (12).*

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to investigate the reasons why General Gage would have issued this proclamation so late after the events of Lexington and Concord.

b. Ask students to list the purposes of this proclamation. Have them state what would probably have happened to anyone who did not obey the command to turn in firearms. Have them summarize the directive's primary purpose(s). Have them decide the reasons why General Gage would have issued this proclamation, particularly in June of 1775.

c. Ask students to imagine that they were colonists resistant to Parliament and the royal officials and very familiar with the details the Lexington and Concord conflict two months earlier. Have them also imagine that they lived in Boston and had a rifle and ammunition. Ask them to summarize the likely consequences of following or disobeying the provisions of this directive. Have them decide whether or not they would follow this proclamation and explain the likely consequences of their choice.

RESOURCE 47: A REFUGEE SONG (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

During the 1760s and into the mid-1770s, many Loyalists used the newspapers and broadsides to express their beliefs and feelings about many issues. They also wrote poems and songs. In this song, a Loyalist who had fled into one of the cities occupied by the British army expresses support for King George III. This song also supported what the king did to defend the laws of the land and those who followed the laws.

This text complements resource 6 and 51. For other poems and songs, see resources 19, 24, 30, 34, 38 and 49.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to imagine that they were colonists who opposed the actions and perceived the intentions of King George III and Parliament. Have them write a poem or song of their own that would reveal their opinion(s) of King George. Have them look up other information about King George and state the reasons why this song or their song was the more accurate description of the monarch.

b. Ask students to read descriptions of King George III as well as biographies of him and statements that he made (see resources 14, 51 and 52). Have them use this information to describe what King George III thought and believed in 1765, 1774, 1776 and 1782. Have them separate what King George III actually said and did from what people thought his intentions were. Have them look for similarities and differences between his views for each of these years. Students could then write an analysis of one or two of his major policies. Or they could write a comparison or contrast paper that focuses on the king's position on several issues in two different years. (See related activity a in resource 52.)

c. Ask students to define tyrant and oppressor. Have them make a list of things that King George III actually said and did that would fit under each category. Have them make a list of his unoppressive actions. Have them decide whether or not he was a tyrant and/or an oppressor and justify their decision. (See related activity c in resource 51.)

d. Ask students to define liberty and investigate the king's actions and statements that would be consistent with safeguarding liberty and civil rights of the colonists. (They may want to complete resource 6 first.) Given what they found, ask them to judge him on the basis of his efforts or success in safeguarding liberty and civil rights. Then have them decide what they would have done to support liberty and civil rights in the colonies, maintain tranquillity in England and ensure the future success of the entire empire.

RESOURCE 48: THE LIBERTY TREE IS CUT DOWN

The Liberty Tree (or Liberty Elm, Tree of Liberty) was a particular elm tree within Boston Commons. It was from this tree on August 14, 1765, that the citizen mob hung in effigy Peter Oliver, the royal secretary of Massachusetts colony. This event is believed to be the first hanging on any liberty tree in the colonies. This resource reports the actions of soldiers to cut down Boston's Liberty Tree on the orders of General Thomas Gage.

This text complements resources 6 and 49. For pictures of the tree, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (8, 11).

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to define the term symbol. Have them make a list of reasons why people use and protect many of the symbols that they create. Have them state what the Liberty Tree symbolized for the citizens of Boston. Have them describe the likely reactions of Bostonians to having their Liberty Tree cut down. Can they explain why some Bostonians would have reacted to this event with anger and perhaps hatred?

b. Ask students to investigate poems, stories, songs and graphics that pertain to the Liberty Tree, liberty poles, liberty halls, and other objects that were given the name liberty. Have them make a list of the common themes or details. Have them report what the author of each of these poems, songs, etc., might have meant by liberty.

c. Ask students to create a liberty tree in their classroom where they might hang quotations or descriptions of situations that support liberty, freedom and other civil rights. Then have them consider what they might do to protect or preserve their own civil rights and the rights of others in their community. If possible, have them investigate different groups in their community that are active in this area and invite speakers from these groups to report on the purposes and activities of their organization.

d. Ask students whether there is a need for a liberty tree in their community today. Have them state the reasons for and against having a liberty tree today. Have them imagine that someone in their community designated a tree as a liberty tree. What would be their reactions to the tree, its symbolism, and the person who designated the tree as a liberty tree?

e. Ask students to investigate the events that often took place around a liberty tree. Have them decide which were the most frequent and infrequent events around liberty trees. Ask them to state the reasons why particular events were more common and others were less common around liberty trees.

f. Ask students to design a broadside, cartoon or drawing that would express different points of view towards the cutting down of the Liberty Tree in Boston or towards General Gage, who ordered it cut down. Have them decide which work might have attracted the most attention were it distributed within days of the destruction of this tree.

RESOURCE 49: "LIBERTY TREE" BY ATLANTICUS (JULY 1775)

During the revolutionary era thousands of poems and songs were written to express the author's ideas. This song first appeared in the Pennsylvania Magazine in July 1775. Americans sang it often during and long after the American War for Independence. Although Atlanticus was a pseudonym frequently used by Thomas Paine, no one has confirmed that he wrote this poem.

This text complements resource 48. For other poems and songs, see resources 19, 24, 30, 34, 38 and 47. For pictures of the tree, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (8, 11).

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to create a cartoon or drawing that accurately captures the sentiments expressed in this poem. Have them try to create something that Thomas Paine would have liked. Have them explain why they believe Paine would have liked their creation.

b. Ask students to read other works by Thomas Paine. Have them investigate ideas that Paine had that were similar to those in this poem. Have them report on other ideas that Thomas Paine expressed during the revolutionary era. Have them decide how important Thomas Paine was to the revolutionary cause of the colonists.

RESOURCE 50: WORDS OF THE LOYALISTS

Between twenty to thirty percent of the non-slave population in the colonies is thought to have remained loyal to the Crown, Parliament and Britain during this time. For various reasons, most of these people remained relatively inactive and quiet rather than active during the entire era. Thousands left their property in the suburbs and rural areas to move into such cities as Boston, New York City and Philadelphia when they were occupied by royal troops. Over 100,000 eventually moved out of the thirteen colonies during and immediately after the war. The statements in this resource provide a few glimpses into the thoughts and attitudes of the Loyalists. These statements cover the period before, during and after the war.

For illustrations, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (6, 11, 17).

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to think about the fact that, after the defeat of General Cornwallis in October 1783, over half the population of Philadelphia, Boston and New York City boarded boats and fled the colonies as a result of their victory over the British army. Have them explain why the minority in each of these cities would have been as powerful as they were in determining what went on in them. Have them consider what it means to a nation or community when more than half its population chooses to remain silent and allows the minority to do what it wants, even engaging in illegal acts for extended periods of time.

b. Ask students to define apathy. Have them make a list of reasons why a person or group would be apathetic. Have them investigate what reasons might explain why so many remained silent or hidden Loyalists during the pre-war and wartime periods.

c. Ask students to consider the fact that the ideas and feelings expressed in this resource represent between twenty to thirty percent of the population of the colonies, excluding the slave population. Remind them that this meant that as many as one million of the colonies' three million people concurred with the ideas expressed by the statements in this resource. Have them describe other thoughts and feelings the Loyalists may have had as they watched their entire world suddenly turn against them and their viewpoint.

d. Ask students to read all or parts of Kenneth Roberts's *Oliver Wiswell*. (See the **Reference List.**) This novel views the events prior to and during the American Revolutionary War through the eyes of a Loyalist teenager. Have them make a list of Wiswell's opinions and feelings towards the colonists and towards people and actions associated with England. Have them compare Wiswell's opinions of such men as Benjamin Franklin, John Burgoyne and George Washington with their own opinions of these men. Have them write a report about what they learned about the Loyalist view as a result of reading this book. Then have them decide how the quotations in this resource compare with Wiswell's thoughts and feelings.

e. Ask students to imagine that they were Loyalists during this era. Have them write a letter to a friend in England expressing their thoughts and feelings about what was occurring. Have them imagine what they might have done in this situation to protect their lives and property. They could also imagine that they were one of the opposing colonists who had overheard these statements and write a letter expressing their views.

RESOURCE 51: PROCLAMATION BY THE KING FOR SUPPRESSING REBELLION AND SEDITION (AUGUST 23, 1775)

In August 1775, King George III received the two petitions sent by the Continental Congress. One, called the Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms, stated the reasons why many people in the colonies were willing to fight. This declaration stated that these people believed they were fighting for their rights under the English Constitution. The second, called the Olive Branch Petition, professed loyalty to the king and hoped for a peaceful settlement of all issues that divided the colonies and Britain. The king and his ministers agreed that since 1763 what Parliament had correctly managed and protected the empire. They viewed many of the actions of the colonists as an illegal challenge to the constitution of Britain and the authority of the king and Parliament. King George refused to accept both petitions. Instead, with the support of his ministers, he declared the colonies in open rebellion. The proclamation gives his evaluation of the situation in North America and his position on what should be done to end the rebellion and treason.

This text complements resource 47. For other writings by the king, see resources 14 and 52.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to look at different definitions of rebellion and sedition. Have them compare and contrast these definitions. Have students examine the activities of the colonists prior to August 23, 1775, and describe what specific activities would fit their definitions of rebellion and of sedition. Then have them decide whether King George III was right when he declared the colonies were in a state of rebellion.

b. Ask students to select a definition of suppression and make a list of things that a person might do to suppress the actions of other people. Have them decide whether or not King George III on August 23, 1775, had sufficient reasons to order the suppression of the colonists. If not, have them state what would have had to have happened before King George III would have been justified in order the suppression of the colonists.

c. Ask students to define tyrant and then apply that definition to determine if this proclamation would make King George III a tyrant. Have them use this definition to consider other Acts of Parliament and the king to decide which ones were and which ones were not evidence of tyranny. (See the related activity c in resource 47.)

d. Have students create a rebus in response to the proclamation. For examples of rebuses, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (19, 20).

RESOURCE 52: EXCERPTS FROM A LETTER FROM KING GEORGE III TO HIS PRIME MINISTER, LORD NORTH (1775)

Like most kings of England, King George III wrote a number of letters and notes to his ministers and friends. By 1773 he had taken a more direct and active part in the efforts to govern and calm the colonies. He never questioned the right of the monarch and Parliament to govern the colonies, and }he expected them to follow the law as people in the rest of the empire and in England were expected to do. This resource provides excerpts from one of the king's letters written shortly after the First Continental Congress adjourned in 1775.

For other writings by the king, see resources 14 and 51.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to examine other statements that King George III made about governing the colonies or what should be done about the colonies. Ask them to write a report on his attitudes towards the colonies from 1760 through 1783. Then ask them to check to see if there were any changes in his attitudes over this period of years. (See related activity b in resource 47.)

RESOURCE 53: THE MANNER AND TACTICS OF EUROPEAN ARMIES IN THE LATE 1700S

This resource contains a number of details concerning the general manner in which wars and battles were fought during this time. These details primarily focus on the way they tended to fight in Europe because, throughout this war, both sides fought in this manner whenever they could. Even George Washington wanted to train his men so that they could fight in this way.

This text complements resources 10, 13, 54, 63 and 68. For sources on military matters, see the **Reference List.**

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to investigate other details of military life and tactics during this period. Have them use this information to explain why the regulars fought particular battles (such as Lexington, Bunker Hill, Long Island, and Monmouth) in the way(s) that they did.

b. Ask students to read biographies or autobiographies of soldiers on either side of this war. Have them write their own story of being a soldier based upon the words of soldiers who actually fought. Have them pay special attention to what it was like just before, during and immediately after a battle. Then have them decide whether they would have liked to have been a soldier in either army during this war. For illustrations of and notices concerning troops, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (for soldiers 12, 13, 21, 24; for sailors 14, 15, 22, 23).

c. Ask students to investigate the ways in which Baron von Steuben trained the colonials during the winter at Valley Forge. Have them examine the tactics and skills that he was trying to teach. Have them compare these tactics and skills with those that were stressed in the British and French armies at the time. Have them state how where these armies were similar and different in the skills stressed for individual soldiers and tactics. Or have them describe the advantages and disadvantages of using the traditional skills of musket, bayonet and movement during a battle as fought during this war. Have them describe the advantages and disadvantages of using traditional battle tactics during a battles fought during this war. For an illustration of von Steuben, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (18).

d. Ask students to investigate the myth that soldiers in the Royal Army never learned how to fight in the guerrilla war tactics of the colonists and never adjusted to fighting the colonists effectively. Have them describe the origins of this falsehood and the reasons for its persistence.

e. Ask students to describe how the weapon that the colonial farmers preferred to use—the rifle—was unsuitable for the traditional tactics of fighting a battle in which bayonets were so important. Have them describe the advantages and disadvantages of using a rifle during a battle as fought during this war. Have them compare the advantages and disadvantages of using rifles and muskets with bayonets during battles in this war.

RESOURCE 54: FACTORS THAT HANDICAPPED THE CROWN'S ABILITY TO WAGE EFFECTIVE WAR

The armed forces of Great Britain did not lose this war because of only one fault. Rather, there were numerous factors that hindered and made ineffective many of the things Britain's leaders tried to do. This resource lists a number of the important factors that handicapped the British war effort.

This text complements resources 53, 63 and 68. For sources on military matters, see the **Reference List.** *For illustrations of and notices concerning troops, see the* SET OF GRAPHICS *(for soldiers 12, 13, 21, 24; for sailors 14, 15, 22, 23).*

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to distinguish the major factors from the minor ones that handicapped the Crown's ability to win this war. Have them justify their choices.

b. Ask students to locate and study accounts of the British war effort written by civilians in England or members of the Royal Army or Navy during the war. Have them add details to the handicaps listed in this resource. They can also add other factors that handicapped England's war effort.

c. Ask students to investigate how distance; England's transportation of supplies, soldiers, etc., across an ocean; and time affected the quality of England's war effort. Have them locate specific instances where each of these three factors hurt the war effort. Have them decide what might have been done to overcome these three factors given the conditions and technology of the day. Have them make a list of how these three factors may have helped the colonial war effort, even though the colonists had no control over them.

d. Ask students to point out the factors that most surprised them as being handicaps to Britain's war effort. Have them explain their rationale.

e. Ask students to place themselves in the ministry of Parliament once the war had broken out. Ask them to develop a war plan and explain how that plan would have been succeeded, given the handicaps mentioned in this handout.

RESOURCE 55: SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY

This resource describes the social contract theory and provides an overview of its major principles regarding the relationship between individuals and between individuals and the government. The social contract theory is presented here because the protesting colonists believed strongly in the social contract and claimed that Parliament and the king had violated it. The ideas embedded within this theory became a central justification for independence and shaped the thinking of the Founding Fathers in constructing the new Constitution of 1787.

This text complements resource 62.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to make a list of the basic elements of this theory. Ask them to make a diagram with the list of responsibilities which citizens and the government have for one another under this theory.

b. Ask students to examine the different arguments that the protesting colonists had against Parliament and the king from 1765 to 1776.Then have them determine which ones may have been tied to this theory.

c. Ask students to examine the Declaration of Independence to identify parts within it that are consistent with this theory. (They may want to complete resource 62 first.) Have them look at the list of grievances and determine whether or not the signers of the declaration viewed the king's actions listed in these grievances as violations of the social contract between monarch and citizens.

d. Ask students to examine the U.S. Constitution and look for indications that it was developed on the principles of an assumed social contract. Have them report on specific parts of this document that are directly in keeping with this theory. Have them report on specific parts that go against this theory.

RESOURCE 56: VIRGINIA GOVERNOR DUNMORE'S PROCLAMATION (NOVEMBER 7, 1775)

Virginia's Royal Governor John Dunmore was a very strong supporter of the king, Parliament and the laws of Britain. In nearly every case he sided with King George III and Parliament. He strongly opposed those who challenged the Crown, Parliament and the new laws. The stronger his support for these things, the stronger and more widespread was the anger against him. Eventually, Dunmore took a number of actions without approval of the House of Burgesses. When the House members challenged him, Dunmore dissolved the House. Consequently, the members created an informal organization to coordinate opposition to the Crown, Parliament and Dunmore.

Opposition to Dunmore was so intense and life threatening that he fled Williamsburg on June 8, 1775. However, he remained in the area on board a ship of the Royal Navy just off the coast of Virginia. From there he tried to govern. This proclamation, known as Dunmore's Proclamation, was issued after he had received several reports that opposition colonists were forming an army and attacking Crown soldiers and officials in Virginia.

He believed that a proclamation might put a quick end to any military efforts the colonists might be planning. He also wanted to stop all further activity that he considered treasonous. Moreover, he hoped a proclamation would bring out the Loyalists whom he assumed made up the majority of Virginians. It declared Virginia to be in a state of open rebellion and placed the colony under martial law, and it offered freedom to slaves and bonded indentured servants of any rebel, if they were willing to bear arms and fight for the Crown.

The Virginians reacted quickly and with intensity. Many strongly opposed his willingness to free slaves and indentured servants and to arm them if they would join the governor's forces. There is evidence that this proclamation helped to change the minds of thousands of citizens so that they opposed the Crown. As a result, Dunmore lost much of his support in the colony.

Eventually, several thousand slaves took advantage of his offer of freedom and helped the Crown forces. These people, however, were not so much in favor of the Crown as they were seeking any means to gain their freedom. After the war, many of them volunteered to be shipped by the Crown overseas.

This text complements resource 57.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to explore the reasons why Royal Governor Dunmore would have issued this particular proclamation at this particular time. Also have them explore the reactions that different people in Virginia might have had to the contents of the proclamation.

b. Ask students to imagine that they were reporters for either a pro-Parliament or a pro-colonial resistance newspaper in the colonies. Have them write a story or editorial that summarizes the important ideas in Dunmore's proclamation, the Dunmore's reasons for issuing it at this time, and a critique of the outlined policies.

c. Ask students to state whether Dunmore's proclamation would have increased or decreased liberty in Virginia. Then have them give their rationale citing evidence from this text and/or others to support their position.

RESOURCE 57: LETTER REACTING TO GOVERNOR DUNMORE'S PROCLAMATION (NOVEMBER 1775)

There were many strong and angry reactions against Governor Dunmore's Proclamation of November 7 (resource 56). This source represents one of the best letters against his actions that were published in the Virginia Gazette. It claims that nothing good can come of this freeing of slaves. The author tells all blacks not to be tempted by this proclamation because doing so would only ruin them. Furthermore, the letter informs blacks that to run away and join Dunmore would not be in their best welfare because, if the whites suffer, certainly the blacks who sought freedom would suffer more. The majority of the letter addresses the issue of slavery. Nothing is said about the fact that Virginia was declared in a state of rebellion and that martial law was in effect throughout the colony.

This text complements resource 56. For sources on blacks in this era, see the Reference List.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to read Governor Dunmore's proclamation. Have them decide whether the letter is reacting to what Dunmore said in the proclamation or to what the writer was afraid might happen. Have them explain at least three reasons why the letter writer would say what he did in this letter.

b. Have students imagine that they were Loyalists to the Crown at this time. Have them write a Loyalist's letter reacting to Dunmore's proclamation. Have them include in their letters their justification for their response. They could also write a letter from an indentured servant's or slave's perspective.

RESOURCE 58: VIRGINIA'S RESOLUTION FOR INDEPENDENCE (MAY 15, 1776)

Contrary to popular belief, the Declaration of Independence was not the first such declaration in the colonies. During the four months prior to July 2, 1776, a number of colonies considered the matter of sovereignty. After the House of Burgesses was dissolved by the royal governor, a new Virginian government was established. This new Virginia government, according to British law, was illegal because it did not have the support of either Parliament or the king. All other colonial governments established after the conflict at Lexington were also illegal, including the Continental Congress.

The Virginians agreed a year after the events at Lexington and Concord that it was time to officially break the colony's political ties to Britain. However, instead of voting to make their colony independent, they decided that the Continental Congress, which represented all the colonies collectively, should be the one to declare independence. In this way, all the colonies would be declaring their independence at the same moment. This act would send a strong message to king and Parliament that the colonies were both fully united and committed to work together to be independent states.

This text complements resources 60-62.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to read the Declaration of Independence and locate statements in it that are similar to those stated in the first paragraph in this resolution. Have them make a list of reasons why there would be differences in the two documents.

b. Ask students to explain why the ideas in this resolution would be consistent with the colonists' concept of liberty as expressed over the past ten years.

c. Have students investigate the origins and membership of this Virginian government. Ask them whether passage of this resolution was done without the Loyalists being allowed to participate in the government. If this occurred, then have them decide whether legislation without representation was the same as taxation without representation. Have them decide what right the new rebel government of Virginia had to pass such a resolution on behalf of all Virginians.

RESOURCE 59: LETTER TO JAMES SULLIVAN FROM JOHN ADAMS (MAY 26, 1776)

John Adams opposed giving people the right to participate equally in government if they did not have some means, such as property ownership, to independently support themselves. In his mind, women, freemen or any citizen—even white males who did not own land—should not be allowed to vote. And he definitely preferred men rather than women having a voice in government, even if a woman was financially independent. The views expressed in this letter were held by many in the colonies, including nearly all of the leaders of the opposition to the Crown. The letter reveals many of the ideas that shaped the thinking of colonial leaders during this time.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to make a list of reasons why John Adams believed it was important that only men with property should be allowed to vote and hold office in government. Ask them to make a list of reasons why women, freemen and people without property should be allowed to vote and hold office. Then ask them to compare these reasons.

b. Ask students to examine the rules and laws that affect who can vote in their state or community. Have them make a list of reasons why and when these laws and rules were passed. Then ask them to survey their family and friends to find out who voted in recent national, state and local elections and special elections. Have them find out the reasons why each person decided to vote or not vote in each election. Finally, have them consider these reasons in light of John Adams' concern that people should have the means to be independent stakeholders in their society to vote.

c. Ask students to investigate the attitudes about women during this time and find quotations or other sources that represent these views. Have them use these quotations in a letter in response to this letter. Resource 44 contains a letter by Abigail Adams. For sources on women in this era, see the **Reference List**. For drawings about women, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (2, 7).

RESOURCE 60: INTRODUCTION OF THE RESOLUTION FOR THE COLONIES TO SEVERE ALL ALLEGIANCE TO THE BRITISH CROWN (JUNE 7, 1776)

June 1776 was fourteen months after the events in Lexington and Concord. Almost twelve months had passed since the Battles of Bunker and Breed's Hills. Subsequent efforts on both sides to establish peace had not been successful. Beginning in March 1776, four colonies openly discussed the idea of passing a law stating that they had officially cut themselves out of the British Empire. In other words, they wanted to become independent states rather than dependent colonies in an empire. Leaders in these colonies knew that it would be best if all the colonies united together and severed their ties with Britain at the same moment. This could only be done by the Continental Congress.

At the same time many colonists, including many of the leaders of the opposition to the Crown, still saw themselves as English citizens who owed allegiance to King George III. These citizens hoped and expected that the differences could be worked out. They really believed that peace could return to the colonies and an agreement could be reached among the king, Parliament and the colonies. Even in June, members of the Continental Congress offered toasts to King George III and the English constitution. (See resource 50 for examples of the Loyalists' statements.)

In early June 1776, pressure was growing for the Continental Congress to take up the issue of severing all political ties with Britain. Many members of Congress believed that at least the matter of independence should be considered. They wanted to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of separating from the empire. Some of these same members also thought that maybe the king and Parliament might change their minds if the colonies were considering independence. Other members wanted independence—the sooner the better.

Someone had to propose the matter of independence. On June 7, Richard Henry Lee, acting at the request of the new government of Virginia, stepped forward. This resource provides the opening lines of his proposal. On July 2, 1776, less than four weeks later, the Continental Congress agreed with Lee's resolution to sever officially all ties and allegiance to Britain.

This text complements resources 58, 61 and 62. For illustrations, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (5, 17).

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to compare the words in this statement with the Declaration of Independence. Have them locate specific words and phrases in the Declaration that are identical or similar to specific words and phrases in this statement.

b. Ask them to investigate and report the important reasons why this resolution was not approved on the same day it was submitted to Congress. Have them assess each of these reasons and decide on the best reasons for not voting on that day.

c. In this exercise students investigate the role of the committee established to write a statement declaring to the world why the colonies wanted to be politically independent from England. Have students construct a timeline that shows the steps from the Continental Congress's introduction of this resolution to the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Have them describe the significance of July 4, 1776, in this range of activities and dates.

d. Have students investigate the pros and cons of the colonies leaving the British Empire. Ask them to answer the questions: From the colonists' view, were there sufficient reasons to be independent from Britain? From the colonists' view, what were the most important reasons for remaining in the British Empire in June 1776?

RESOURCE 61: THE VIRGINIA DECLARATION OF RIGHTS APPROVED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE (JUNE 12, 1776)

This declaration was written by a twenty-eight-member committee appointed by an assembly of leaders of the colonial cause. This committee was authorized to write a constitution for the governance of Virginia as though Virginia were already independent from Britain. This declaration was the first statement approved by the committee. It makes clear that the basis of government is to protect natural rights, which all people had by virtue of their membership in the human species. It influenced similar statements adopted by other states as they were developing their state constitutions. It later become a model for the Bill of Rights.

This text complements resources 6, 58, 60 and 62.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to compare the contents of this declaration with the Declaration of Independence accepted by the Continental Congress on July 4, 1776—less than thirty days after the Virginia Declaration of Rights was passed. Ask students to investigate the reasons why the Virginians thought such a declaration was necessary.

b. Divide students into groups and have them predict what rights they expect to be mentioned. Next have the groups list the individual rights that do appear in this declaration. They may want to compare this text with other speeches, documents and letters from 1763 to 1776. (Many are included in the RESOURCE PACKET. See the table at the front.) Each group could then examine one particular right.

c. Ask students to read the first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution and find the rights in these amendments that were also listed in the Virginia Declaration of Rights. Have them identify the rights in the Virginia Declaration that were not included in the first ten amendments. Then have them suggest reasons why some of the rights in the declaration were not included in the first ten amendments.

d. Ask students to obtain a copy of the United Nations's Declaration of Human Rights. Have them compare the rights listed in the U.N. Declaration with those included in the declaration provided in this resource. Have them make a list of the differences between the two statements and a list of similarities. Have them consider why the Virginians in 1776 would not have included some of these rights in their declaration.

RESOURCE 62: THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: AN INTRODUCTION AND AN ANALYSIS OF ITS STRUCTURE

One way to consider contents of the Declaration of Independence is to look at its parts. Each part should focus on a major idea that the Continental Congress wanted to make clear to the public. This resource contains a description of nine parts of the declaration. Students should comprehend the description of each part before reading the entire declaration and complete the tasks listed on the resource.

Many scholars, particularly Carl Becker, believe that Thomas Jefferson and the signers of the declaration were strongly influenced by the ideas of John Locke. There is some evidence, however, that this belief is more a reflection of tradition than of facts. Historians Susan Power and Gary Wills claim that the ideas were probably not Lockean at all but came from other popular sources of the time. They further claim that there is not sufficient evidence to verify that Jefferson strongly believed in Locke's ideas (at least at the time the declaration was written) or relied heavily on Locke for his ideas. Indeed, Jefferson reported that he did not read Locke while writing the declaration, but relied on ideas that were everyday ideas and beliefs of the colonists at the time.

This text complements resources 55, 58, 60 and 61. Works by historians cited above are in the Reference List.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Before reading this resource or the Declaration of Independence, ask students to write down all the items that they believe are included in the declaration, the date on which it was signed and the reasons why it was written.

b. Ask students to investigate whether the Continental Congress's vote to approve the Declaration of Independence meant that the colonies officially viewed themselves as being independent of their political ties to England. Have them investigate the role of the declaration in the colonists' overall efforts to become independent.

c. Ask students to read this document about the Declaration of Independence and comprehend the description of each of its parts. After they have read this resource, have them summarize the information that they would expect to find in each of the nine parts of the declaration. Have them state the reasons why the framers of the declaration would have included each of these parts.

d. Ask students circle on their copy of the declaration the words, lines or sections that go with each of these parts. Have them label each set of circled information by the letter A through I.

e. Ask students to go back to the pages where they wrote what they thought was included in the declaration. In pairs or in small groups, have them find the places where they were correct and not correct. Have them evaluate themselves as to how accurate they were in their opinions of what was included in the declaration and the reasons why it was written. Then have them make a list of reasons why they (and possibly other Americans) did (or do) have so many misconceptions or inaccuracies in their ideas about the contents of and reasons for the declaration.

f. Ask students to make up a list a reasons why Americans today celebrate July 4 (the date of the approval of the Declaration of Independence by the Continental Congress) rather than July 2 as Independence Day. Have them decide which of these two dates would be the most appropriate date to celebrate Independence Day. If they decide July 2 would be the more accurate date, have them decide what they might do to get other Americans to change their minds, too.

RESOURCE 63: EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS FROM THE BATTLEFIELDS

This resource provides a selection of first-hand accounts of what it was like to be in the midst of battle during the American Revolutionary War. These were selected as graphic narratives of scenes and activities surrounding soldiers during battle. They also reveal that, although the weapons were primitive by today's standards, they were lethal. Students should be encouraged to view the scenes describe as if they witnessed the events.

This text complements resources 53, 54 and 68. For sources on military matters, see the ***Reference List****. For pictures of battle scenes, see the* SET OF GRAPHICS (3, 4, 12, 14, 18, 21-24). *For related posters, see the* SET OF GRAPHICS (10, 13).

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Have students investigate the weapons and military strategies that prevailed during this war. Have them report on the accuracy and efficiency of the muskets, rifles and other hand weapons used on each side. Have them make a chart of advantages and disadvantages of each weapon on the battlefield. Have them describe how the weapons used affected the strategy and movements of soldiers prior to and during battle. Have them bring pictures or diagrams in of each weapon and report on the dimensions of each weapon, such as height, weight, range of effectiveness, accuracy, etc.

b. Have students locate and read biographies or autobiographies about or diaries or letters from people who actually fought on or more battles during this war. Have them summarize the content in the form of a short essay on life on the battlefield from the experiences of those who actually fought. They may want to make a list of words that would likely represent the emotions and feelings these soldiers probably felt during these battles. Have them review their list of sentences and paragraphs and their summary to locate how often the words on their list of emotions were used. Have them decide the reasons why the emotion terms were or were not frequently used by soldiers in their accounts of battles and their participation in them.

c. Ask students to investigate the practice of taking scalps after some of the battles during this war. Have them make a list of reasons why individuals would scalp another human being. Have them discuss the morality of this practice by answering questions like: Is it morally acceptable to take the scalp of another human being? Is this practice morally worse than others undertaken in warfare?

RESOURCE 64: BLACKS DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

This resource provides information about blacks during the revolutionary era, including comments about their role in the military. They fought on both sides of the conflict. In the North, they tended to fight on the side of the colonists, but in the South they overwhelmingly fought for the Crown. In the latter case, the Crown offered freedom to any slave who fled his or her master and fought on the side of the Crown. The Continental Congress eventually offered bonuses and free land to blacks for fighting for its side. Throughout the war blacks still demanded freedom, equal treatment and equal rights. Because they were continuously frustrated by the fact that people on both sides did not view them as equals, thousands of blacks voluntarily left via British ships at the end of the war.

This text complements resources 44, 45, 56, 57 and 66. For sources on blacks in this era, see the **Reference List.**

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. In this exercise students investigate efforts by blacks prior to and during the Revolutionary War to receive the rights being demanded by whites. Have them examine the petitions and letters they wrote on behalf of their quest for equality and rights. Have them report on the results of their petitions and letters, especially the reasons why their requests and demands were not accepted—even though they were the same as many of the demands the non-blacks in reference to the government in England.

b. Ask students to investigate the discussions of slavery from the period of 1770 to 1791 to determine whether the issue of preserving or abolishing slavery was a matter of concern to the colonists who were opposing possible enslavement by the king and Parliament. Ask them to investigate the issue of slavery at least in the Virginia Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of 1787. Once they have examined these and other sources, have them draw conclusions concerning the importance of this issue during the revolutionary era.

c. Ask them to imagine that they were a slave or a free black person during the period immediately prior to or during the American Revolutionary War. Have them decide what their opinions would likely have been towards the Loyalists, the royal officials in the colonies, and the colonists who were protesting against Parliament and the king. Have them list the reasons for and against their joining each of these sides. Have them read about the views of people representing each of these sides. Have them decide which of these three sides they would have joined and explain their rationale.

RESOURCE 65: LETTER FROM PAUL REVERE IN DEFENSE OF THE COLONIES REMAINING INDEPENDENT FROM BRITAIN (JULY 1782)

On July 1, 1782, Paul Revere wrote to his cousin John Rivoire in Guernsey, England. This resource includes part of his answer to a question from John urging America to rejoin Britain.

Resource 42 contains another text by Revere. For a picture by him, see the SET OF GRAPHICS (4).

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Have students compare the ideas in this letter with those expressed by the colonists opposed to Parliament and royal officials from 1765 through 1776. Have them decide whether or not Paul Revere's ideas in 1782 were consistent with these ideas.

b. Have students imagine that they were John Rivoire responding to Paul Revere's letter. Have them imagine themselves as supporters of the king and Parliament. Have them to study other statements that supported the king's and Parliament's positions. Then have them write a response to Revere.

RESOURCE 66: THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE REACTS TO THE CONTINUATION OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA AFTER THE WAR

After the war, the Marquis de Lafayette wrote to John Adams of his concerns about slavery in America. He was especially worried that Americans preserved slavery after winning a war for the rights of all men. This excerpt from his letter reveals that, if had he known America would continue slavery after the war, he would not have fought on America's side. Lafayette was among a number of people in Europe who believed that the preservation of slavery in America was inconsistent with the fight for liberty and freedom that had just been won by the colonies. They thought it strange that Americans would fight not to be slaves to the king and Parliament and then condone slavery after the war.

This text complements resources 44, 45, 56, 57, 59 and 64.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to investigate the colonists' concerns about slavery and freeing slaves during the entire revolutionary era. Have some investigate the story regarding the purposeful deletion of statements about slavery from the early drafts of the Declaration of Independence. Have them find excerpts from speeches, letters and reports that reflect the colonists' divergent views on this subject. Then have them examine the U.S. Constitution to see how the Founding Fathers dealt with the matter of slavery when forming the new government.

b. Ask students to investigate the colonists' definition of liberty and freedom. Have them then investigate the opinions of the white Europeans at the time regarding blacks. Have them describe how the whites' attitudes might have affected their attitudes about granting blacks freedom, social equality and equal treatment under the law.

c. Ask students to read a biography or other details about Lafayette. Have them report on his actual contributions to the American war effort. Have them also report on the ideas he had about liberty, freedom and the causes for which the American colonists were fighting. Have them relate his life after this war, especially during the French Revolution.

d. Ask students to imagine themselves to be Lafayette in the year 1810. Have them write a letter to Thomas Jefferson regarding their opinions about the successes and failures of the Revolution. They should address the issue of slavery in light of Lafayette's views on this subject included in this resource.

e. Ask them to imagine that they were a member of the Sons of Liberty and had read about Lafayette's concerns regarding the slavery issue. Have them write a letter they believe a Son or Daughter of Liberty might have written to Lafayette on this issue. They should justify their position in this letter using some of the language that these Sons and Daughters used prior to the war to defend their own position against King George III, whom they thought was trying to enslave them. (See resources 20 and 35 on the Sons of Liberty.)

RESOURCE 67: CIRCULAR LETTER TO THE STATE GOVERNORS BY GEORGE WASHINGTON (JUNE 8, 1783)

George Washington was very worried about the future of the United States if the government under the Articles of Confederation continued. Just before he gave up his position as commander in chief of the army, he wrote a letter to all the governors in which he warned of problems under the articles. He suggested that the national government needed to be stronger and more powerful. He saw at stake the future of the United States of America.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to define confederation and make a list of strengths and weaknesses of any confederation. Have them decide why people would want to form a confederation. Have them investigate the reasons why the leaders of the colonies during the American Revolution were satisfied with forming a confederation for their new government.

b. Ask students to hold a press conference where reporters from various colonies who supported and opposed Washington's views question him about his concerns. Have them follow this press conference with a letter to Washington or a newspaper article that they would submit to one of the leading papers in the colonies.

c. Ask students to make a list of reasons why a wealthy landowner, banker or merchant in 1785 would have been concerned about the confederation system of government. Have them make a list of specific strengths and weaknesses of the government under the confederation from these people's viewpoints. Have them make a similar list but from the viewpoint of a small farmer, employee of a merchant or banker, or new immigrant. Then have them compare the two sets of lists and determine the areas of commonality and differences among these two sets of people regarding the strengths and weaknesses of the confederation.

d. Ask students to investigate the concerns that people like Washington had about the Articles of Confederation. Have them decide whether people were more concerned about the Articles of Confederation themselves or the government that was set up under the articles. Have them examine the current Constitution without any of the amendments. Have them select the parts of the Constitution that correct weaknesses in the government under the articles. Have them state the reasons why each of the parts selected actually corrects the weaknesses of the government under the articles.

RESOURCE 68: CASUALTY AND DEATH TABLE

This sheet provides data on the total number of American deaths and casualties for all wars. It allows students to compare the dead and wounded figures for the American Revolution with those of other wars.

This text complements other resources on military matters (53, 54, 63). For texts on military matters, see the **Reference List.**

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students whether they are surprised by the low number of Americans who died during the American Revolution. Ask them to state the number of men who they thought died during this war. Have them compare the number of men who died during the Revolution to the number who died in other American wars. Have them locate the population of the colonies and later the United States at the time each of these wars started and compute the percentage of the total population that were killed and wounded in each war. Have them then reconsider the comparisons they made earlier and decide whether they needed to adjust their assessment of the dead and wounded during the American Revolution.

b. Ask students to investigate the treatment of prisoners of war during the American Revolution, especially in terms of where these men were imprisoned and the conditions in which they lived. Have them investigate the treatment of officers who were taken prisoners, especially generals such as John Burgoyne. Have them compare the treatment of prisoners of war during the American Revolution with the ways prisoners were expected to be treated during wars of this era. Have them decide the extent to which each side treated its prisoners in a humane way and in accordance with the expectations of the time. Have them state the reasons why each side might have deviated from tradition in their treatment of prisoners.

RESOURCE 69: IS THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION OVER?

The question of whether the American Revolution is over is one that has many answers. Not only is the definition of revolution contentious, but people also pay attention only to certain conditions or ideas in formulating their answers. This resource provides four individuals' views on this issue.

This text complements resources 4-6 and 8.

Suggested Activities Using This Resource

a. Ask students to play the roles of various leaders of the American Revolution, such as Samuel Adams, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, Abigail Adams. They should focus on using each individual's own words to represent the different points of view as to what the American Revolution was (or is) and when the American Revolution ended, if indeed it did end.

b. Ask students what the importance of the American Revolution is to their lives today. Have them state as many connections between the events and ideas of the American Revolution and their lives as they can. They may want to rank these on a scale of importance. Then have them state what other events or situations in the past are more important to them than the American Revolution.

c. Ask students to state their attitudes about the Fourth of July and what that day means to them. Ask them to state how much they think about the origins of this holiday when they celebrate it. Then ask them what it would take for them to think more in-depth about the American Revolution and what happened during it.

, 1776

s of America,

cal bands which have connected them with another, and to
a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they
all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator
ights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just
Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new
most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed,
experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while
g train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object,
ment, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has
er Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great
te Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid
c good. — He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate
so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. — He has refused to
of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable
istant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into
with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. — He has refused for
ble of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remain
He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstruc
ther, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. — He has obstructed the
He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount
ither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance. — He has kept among
affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. — He has combined
y our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: — For Quartering large bodies of
any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: — For cutting off
nsent: — For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of Trial by Jury: — For transporting us beyond
laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries
bsolute rule into these Colonies: — For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws and
own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. —
aging War against us. — He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives
cenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy
f a civilized nation. — He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against
lves by their Hands. — He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the
is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We
d by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant,
brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrant
ere. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them
ections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of
s we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends. —
bled, ing to the supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our in
nies are and of Right ought to be Free and Independent
of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and
do all other Acts and Things which Independent
tually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fort

Josiah Bartlett
Wm Whipple
Saml Adams
Adam

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

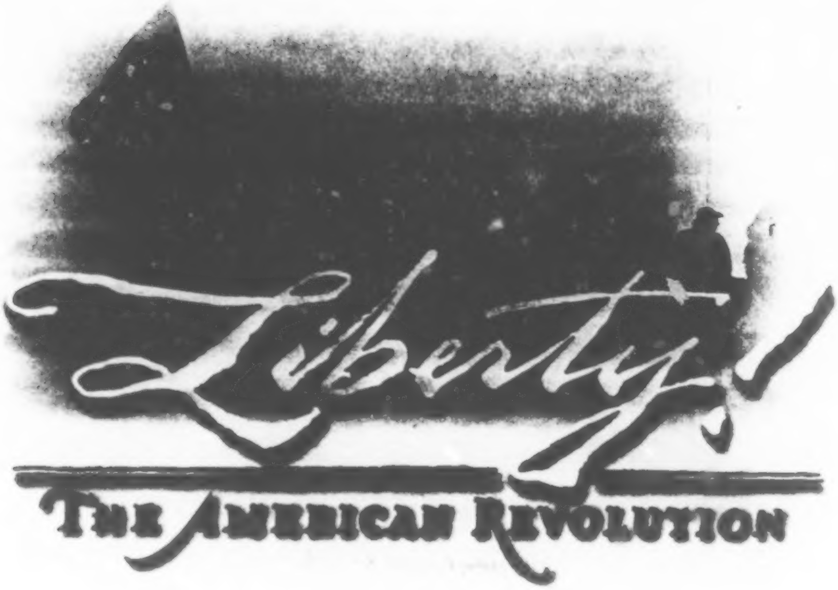
Funding for LIBERTY!
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
provided by Norwest Corporation.

To The Nth Degree

National Endowment for the Humanities
The Arthur Vining-Davis Foundations
The Eberly Foundation

PBS VIDEO

LIBERTY! THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
is a production of KTCA in association with Middlemarch Films



Liberty!

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Resource Packet

FOR INQUIRY INTO THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY ERA

PBS VIDEO

"To know whether it be
the interest of this continent
to be independent,
we need only to ask
this easy simple question:
Is it the interest of a man
to be a boy all his life?"

Thomas Paine, on the matter of whether or not
the colonies should seek independence

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1. QUOTATIONS OF NOTE

The quotations below provide a number of perceptions created by people who participated in the events of the American revolutionary era. They should be considered first and foremost in the context of this moment in time rather than interpreted solely from the views of present day society.

"The American War is over, but this is far from the case with the American Revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is at a close."

Benjamin Rush, signer of the Declaration of Independence, October 1781

"To know whether it be the interest of this continent to be independent, we need only to ask this easy simple question: Is it the interest of a man to be a boy all his life?"

Thomas Paine, on the matter of whether or not the colonies should seek independence

"Nabour was against Nabour, Father against the Son and the Son against the Father, and he that would not thrust his one blaid through his brothers heart was cald an Infimous fillon [villain]."

Anonymous Connecticut citizen, on the extent to which colonists were split on the matter of independence

"I never had an idea of subduing the Americans; I meant to assist the good Americans [Loyalists], subdue the bad."

General James Robertson, officer in the British army

"... what we meant in going for those redcoats [at Lexington] was this: we always had governed ourselves, and we always meant to. They [King George III and Parliament] didn't mean we should!"

Levi Preston, survivor of the Battle of Lexington, in 1842 at age 91 on why the colonists fought the war

"I would have hanged my own brother had he taken part with our enemies in the contest."

John Adams

The Revolution was "without . . . immediate oppression, without a cause depending so much on hasty feelings as theoretical reasoning."

Edmund Randolph, American Revolutionary leader and public official

"Indeliberately, half-knowingly, as responses not to desire but to the logic of the situation, the leaders of colonial thought in the years before Independence forced forward alterations in, or challenged, major concepts and assumptions of eighteenth century political theory. They reached . . . before 1776 . . . new territories of thought. . . ."

Historian Bernard Bailyn, The ideological origins of the American Revolution, *1967*

"My lads, they will not fire."

Samuel Gray, seconds before he was instantly killed by a ball entering his head when the sentries opened fire in what is known as the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770

"On that night the formation of American Independence was laid. . . . Not the battle of Lexington or Bunker Hill, not the surrender of Burgoyne or Cornwallis were more important events in American history than the battle of King Street on the 5th of March, 1770. The death of four or five persons, the most obscure and inconsiderable that could have been found upon the continent, has never yet been forgiven by any part of America."

John Adams, reflecting on the Boston Massacre years after the Revolutionary War had ended

"Nothing of importance happened today."

King George III's diary entry for July 4, 1776

"Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

Thomas Jefferson 1776

"I am of . . . [the] opinion that when once these rebels have felt a smart blow, they will submit; and no situation can ever change my fixed resolution, either to bring the colonies to a due obedience to the legislature of the mother country or to cast them off!"

King George III to Lord Sandwich, July 1, 1775

"The offense of the Americans is flagitous. The Town of Boston ought to be knocked about its ears and destroyed. You will never meet with proper obedience to the laws of this country until you have destroyed that nest of locusts."

Member of the British Parliament, 1773 (Note: the "you" may refer to General Gage or to Parliament and the prime minister.)

"America was the first modern nation to make ideology the central fact of national existence."

William R. Brock, The evolution of American democracy, 1970

"Asked the gentleman, 'Pray, , . . . what is a Tory?' The response was 'A Tory is a thing whose head is in England, and its body is America, and its neck ought to be stretched.'"

New York Journal, *February 9, 1775*

"General Gage, it is said, has hanged three of the provincials, for breaking open and plundering some of the houses in Boston evacuated by the inhabitants; so that the great thieves, it seems, begin to hang the little ones. O! glorious times indeed! But what then? Why, then the fate of these petty rogues is, in some respects, like that of the little fish that are occasionally devoured to fatten and keep alive the larger ones. . . ."

Constitutional Gazette, *September 16, 1775*

2. THE QUESTION AND PROBLEMS OF EMPIRE: WHAT SHOULD BE DONE TO GOVERN, MANAGE AND DEFEND THE COLONIES?

(1750-1763)

Prior to the French and Indian War, the British ministers usually neglected the relationships between the royal government and the colonies except in the area of trade. There were occasional Acts of Parliament concerning regulation of trade and the collection of taxes on trade goods. At other times, members of Parliament thought about taking a more active role in governing the colonies, but their thoughts did not turn into specific actions. For instance, in 1754 representatives from the colonies met to consider establishing a confederation made up of the thirteen colonies. They proposed a confederation with the Albany Plan. The legislatures of the colonies did not accept this plan for a confederation. Parliament did not attempt to impose this plan on the colonies because it believed the colonists should decide on their form of government.

In the early 1750s the king's ministers realized that the sprawling world empire needed to be organized in a way that made sense to the colonies and the central government in London. There was a need to streamline the administration of the colonies, to eliminate inefficiency in government, to reduce the inconsistencies in policies and laws, to update the laws and legal system and to make clear the relationships between the colonial governments and the king's government. The growth of the empire in size, distance, types of people and prosperity made obvious the many weaknesses that existed in the governing of the colonies.

Steps to create a new empire-wide policy regarding the governing of the colonies were interrupted by the French and Indian War. The behaviors of numerous people and groups in the American colonies during the war made the weaknesses of the existing policies very clear. Members of Parliament noticed the colonists' change in attitudes towards their allegiance to the empire.

During the war, the lower houses of government in most of the colonies would only support Crown efforts unless they received more authority over governing local matters. The royal governors, in order to get some revenues for and participation in the war effort, gave into the lower house demands. Many colonial merchants and traders openly disobeyed the Navigation Acts which regulated trade. Many traded with the enemy, which both intensified and prolonged France's war effort and eventually cost the lives of British soldiers. American colonists increased their pirating and privateering activities, including the areas just off the American coastline. There was abundant evidence the colonists had bribed or intimidated local royal officials to ignore violations of revenue and trade regulations. Some colonial legislatures openly defied imperial laws that regulated trade to satisfy the demands and needs of their people. The ministers in England were equally upset by some colonial legislatures' refusal to ensure that the soldiers they were to supply for the war effort actually were recruited, trained and sent to the war zone. They failed to cooperate even when the Crown government agreed to pay the colonies for their contributions. Many in the king's government did not like the idea that the colonies demanded protection from the French and Indians, yet they would do little to provide the men, revenues or resources needed to win the war.

By 1760, the French and Indians had been defeated in Canada and the war shifted outside of the American colonies. King George III ascended to the throne. At this time the ministers in charge of administering the empire decided it was time to take action. Their aims were:

a. to bring about sound management of the empire,

b. to make uniform the laws and regulations regarding appropriate economic activities in the colonies,

c. to re-establish the power, authority and independence of royal government in the colonies,

d. to decrease the power and authority that the colonial legislatures had obtained during the war,

e. to make up for the lax enforcement of colonial trade laws that increased significantly in all the colonies during the war,

f. to enforce uniformly and consistently all laws regulating trade and collection of duties on trade goods to prevent major loss of revenues by illegal activities of colonists,

g. to establish and maintain a suitable defensive force and system for the empire, and

h. to raise taxes to pay for the war just completed and for the administration and defense of the empire.

To do this, the ministers had to take action to restrict the type and range of political and economic activity of the American colonists. They knew that the colonists were quite sensitive to their rights and privileges as citizens of the British Empire. The ministers also knew that they had to uphold the British Constitution. At no time prior to 1765 did members of Parliament question whether they had the constitutional right and authority to make the changes that they thought were needed. They believed that they were exercising powers and authority that they had always had—even though they may not have used them in the past. Furthermore, there had never been a situation in which many colonists had challenged the Parliament to rule the colonies.

From previous experience the ministers knew that effective policies would have to be specific, empire wide and under the tightly directed control of royal officials. They had learned that meeting the needs of local communities with laws for a specific situation eventually caused more problems than it resolved. The old way of patching up local problems had not worked. Uniformity and comprehensiveness of regulations with strict and independent enforcement seemed the best solution.

In 1763, the ministers decided to take their role of reforming the administration of the empire very seriously. One area of reform involved getting money to defend the empire and making sure that the taxes were actually collected. Before Parliament passed the Stamp Act in 1765, representatives of several colonial legislatures were asked for their ideas. These representatives did not have a better plan for raising revenues, but they opposed having to pay money for stamps on all legal documents and did not want to pay taxes to pay for standing armies in the colonies. With little help from the colonies in collecting taxes for their own defense, Parliament decided to do what it thought was best.

QUESTIONS:

1. After 1763, why did the ministers in Britain believe that they needed to pass a series of laws concerning the colonies?

2. During the French and Indian War what specific activities of the American colonists handicapped the Crown's war efforts?

3. Suppose you were a member of Parliament during the French and Indian War. What would have been your opinion of the activities of the colonists toward helping Britain win the war?

4. If you had been a member of Parliament in the early 1760s, what position would you have taken toward managing and governing the colonies?

3. THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION: TWO VERY DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW

The British Constitution was not contained in a written document like the present U.S. Constitution. The British Constitution included all Acts of Parliament, the Magna Carta of 1215, the 1628 Petition of Rights, royal proclamations, common laws, judicial rulings and selected other decisions and agreements. The colonists frequently praised that constitution and what it stood for. Moreover, most believed that the most important reason to be British was the British Constitution. Under it, British citizens enjoyed more civil rights, liberty and protection of property than any other people in the world. Britons viewed their constitution as the expression of the authority of law. In other words, it meant that the law, not people, including the monarch and Parliament, was supreme.

The major purpose of the constitution and the British emphasis on the supremacy of law was to have a set of legal principles, accompanied by charters, petitions and statutes, that would protect citizens against arbitrary authority.[1] To most, arbitrary authority meant any actions taken that would limit, violate or take away the rights of citizens. Legally established government bodies—such as Parliament, legislative assemblies, churches, incorporated towns and chartered businesses—had roles and rights of their own. The major job of each of these bodies was to prevent or stop actions that threatened the rights of citizens. The citizens believed strongly that nothing but the processes of law and lawmaking should be able to take their rights away from them. They also asserted that they could not neglect or refuse their duties.

Britons thought that if a law was broken or a right was restricted or violated, there were established legal processes to correct the situation. They believed even more strongly that, if acts of arbitrary authority were about to take place or had taken place, there was a legal way of stopping these actions. Furthermore, if everyone fulfilled his or her duties, then the society would improve and advance.

The colonists, like nearly all Britons, also felt very strongly about the need to have representative government. The colonists wanted their representatives to make laws to ensure local protection of their rights as British citizens. Their local elected town councils and legislatures were local watch dogs of and protections from arbitrary authority. This feeling was supported by the 150 years of experience with their own colonies' representative assemblies.

Legal experts disagreed on the origin of the most essential laws and the source of the authority of the government. Some thought that the basic laws, and thus government, were created by humans. They believed that when people first decided to live together, they agreed to give up certain freedoms in order to get the benefits that came with living in a group. To make sure that the society was organized and regulated to everyone's mutual benefit, the people formed governments. They held that England's parliamentary system developed because the people of England wanted more protection for their civil rights. In their view, Parliament should pass laws for protection of their rights as citizens. They accepted that many rights had to have some limitations to prevent total chaos. This group also asserted that there were no sources of law greater or higher than Parliament.

Other experts proposed that there were natural laws that existed before and outside of human society and government. Many argued that these natural laws were established by God. For them, these natural laws were the most important laws to follow, because they were greater or higher than any that human government could pass. These natural laws put natural limitations on laws passed by legislatures or made by a monarch. As long as Parliament passed laws that stayed within these limits, its laws were constitutional. However, if human laws did not follow these natural laws and protect natural rights, people had the right to disobey them. Many people also believed that humans had entered into a social contract with one another to gain the benefits of society. But they asserted that humans did not give up these natural rights when they entered into this contract to form societies. Finally, these people contended that the British Constitution was based on the natural rights of citizens and the full and continuous safeguard of these rights. Parliament and the king had no rights or authority to limit or take away these natural rights.

One of the major issues that divided the colonists from the majority in Parliament was which of these two views on the constitution was correct. The colonists appealed to natural laws and natural rights as the basis of the constitution. They said that certain laws and rights were guaranteed to all human beings. They said that no government officials, not Parliament and especially not the monarch, could pass laws that restricted or violated their natural rights. They believed that when Parliament acted against their natural rights, they could refuse to obey. In addition, they could refuse any enforcement of laws that violated their natural rights. In fact, they claimed that they had the duty and moral obligation to oppose such laws. Thus many colonists believed very strongly that they were following the constitution by opposing Acts of Parliament and the enforcement of these acts. Their refusal to obey what they considered to be a bad law was constitutional, legal and acceptable, in view of protection of their natural rights, and required, as part of their moral obligation to preserve their natural rights. After 1774, more and more colonists started believing that if Parliament and King George III did not change certain laws, then they saw no constitutional reason to stay tied to Britain.

Many in Britain disagreed completely with the colonists' point of view. They thought that Parliament was acting on behalf of the entire empire. It passed laws to benefit the entire country, which included the colonies. They viewed Parliament as representing the people and protecting the rights of British citizens. They said that the history of Parliament revealed that Parliament continually fought for the rights of citizens. They said the fact that British citizens had more civil rights and liberty than those in any other nation was evidence enough that Parliament's laws did not limit the rights of British citizens. They believed that Acts of Parliament, royal proclamations approved by Parliament, and regulations put in place under Parliament's name were all part of the British Constitution. Because they were part of the constitution, citizens of Britain everywhere were required to obey them. They also believed that the rights of British citizens were the same as the natural rights of all people.

In the disagreements between those siding with Parliament's view and those opposing this view in the colonies, both sides claimed their position was consistent with the constitution. As long as they disagreed with one another, each side could claim their position was the constitutional one.

---

[1] William R. Brock, *The evolution of American democracy* (New York: Dial Press, 1970), 11.

QUESTIONS:

1. Define constitution.

2. What are the major purposes of a constitution?

3. Why did the colonists, like nearly all Britons, admire the British Constitution?

4. What were the major differences between the Parliamentary leaders' and colonists' points of view?

4. REBELLION OR REVOLUTION?

The terms rebellion and revolution were frequently used during this period to describe what many people believed was going on in the colonies. These terms have been used since then to properly label these events and the people who were actively involved in them. Below are definitions of terms that the people in the 1700s used.

"You are too early . . . in calling me Rebel; you should wait for the event, which will determine whether it is rebellion or only a revolution."

Benjamin Franklin to Mrs. Thompson, February 8, 1777

"The American War is over, but this is far from the case with the American Revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is at a close."

Benjamin Rush, signer of the Declaration of Independence, October 1781

Rebellion meant an unjustified attack upon and disobedience of legitimate authority. For a rebellion to occur, there must be a legal authority and the legal right to make and enforce laws. For most people in the British Empire in the 1760s, Parliament was considered the highest authority. The royal governors and Crown officials, acting on behalf of Parliament, were considered representatives of Parliament's legal and rightful authority to govern. The people feared arbitrary authority, illegal and unrightful actions to restrain the rights of citizens. Because Parliament saw as its major purpose the protection of the people from arbitrary authority, Parliament was accepted by the majority of people as the highest legitimate authority in their empire. Because Parliament continually tried to protect the citizens' rights, its laws and the activities of people enforcing these laws were considered legitimate. Actions to oppose or refusal to obey these laws and officers would be unjustified, meaning there was no legal or moral basis to an act of rebellion.

Revolution meant a justifiable action against an authority that had acted illegitimately or was never legitimate in the first place. We will focus on its meaning when a legitimate authority is involved. For a revolution to occur in this situation, there first had to exist a legal authority which had the right to make and enforce laws. Everyone accepted that Parliament, including government by and under Parliament, was the legitimate authority in Britain. For a revolution to take place, people had to decide that Parliament had given up its position as the lawful authority. Those people who believed Parliament had given up this position were involved in revolutionary activity when they attacked and opposed the acts, regulations and actions of Parliament and its officers.

What distinguished a rebellion from a revolution was whether the authority being attacked was viewed as legitimate. In this case, the authority first took the form of Parliament. From 1763 to 1783, other people, including King George III and the prime ministers, royal colonial governors and royal officials in the colonies, were targeted as representatives of authority. From the position of the protesting colonists, the authority of Parliament was legitimate only when it acted in ways to protect people's natural rights. Once it acted in other ways, Parliament voluntarily gave up its position of being a legitimate authority.

The Loyalists to the Crown and Parliament's actions took the opposite view. They did not think that the protesting colonists' concerns were justified. The Loyalists claimed that Parliament and all royal officers were still acting to preserve and protect the rights of British citizens. Parliament had been and still was their legitimate authority in the empire. They also claimed that the protesting colonists never provided convincing evidence to prove that Parliament and its officials had acted other than to protect civil rights. Many Loyalists believed that Parliament, the king and the royal officials were doing what needed to be done for the empire and the colonies. They knew they had the same rights as they did in England. They also were willing to pay the taxes and obey the laws to help ensure those rights would be protected. A number of Loyalists viewed the leaders of the protesting colonists as people who wanted their own way and who were using the issue of natural rights as an excuse to keep the attention of the people away from their true purposes.

QUESTIONS:

1. In your own words, what is the definition of rebellion?

2. Define revolution.

3. What are the major criteria that distinguish a rebellion from a revolution?

4. Explain what Franklin was trying to tell Mrs. Thompson.

5. Read some of the statements made by people on both sides of the issues from 1763 to 1783. What statements would be examples of a rebel? a revolutionary? a Loyalist?

6. Benjamin Rush made a distinction between the war and the Revolution. Explain what Rush probably meant by his statement.

7. Why would Rush have thought that the Revolution did not end just because the war did?

8. Would Franklin and Rush have had similar definitions for revolution? Why or why not?

5. REVOLUTION: AN ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVE

We must not forget that the American Revolution took place amidst the Scientific Revolution. Leading thinkers of science insisted that there were natural laws that regulated just about everything. These leaders' ideas were often accepted by people interested in politics, government and society. This activity will have you take one scientific concept of this age—revolution—and apply it to the events of this period.

One definition of a revolution is the movement around an entity with a return to the same or about the same place. We speak of the earth revolving around the sun, meaning that it orbits the sun and returns to the same or about the same place as it was approximately 365 days earlier. Each cycle or return to the same place is called a revolution.

PART A

Now it is your turn to apply this concept to a social event and see how this concept works. What follows is a hypothetical situation that can be used to apply the concept of revolution as defined above.

Imagine that a very strong king ruled a nation with absolute power for years. There was no legislative assembly to help him and the court system enforced and interpreted laws only as he liked. Moreover, the people had few civil rights that the king or court would protect, and the army supported him. Eventually the people rose up, and there was a revolution in this country. Using the definition of revolution provided above, write a description of the government system at the end of their revolution.

QUESTIONS:

1. Define revolution.

2. According to this definition, what must happen for a revolution to occur?

3. Reread your story and the one about the king. Compare and contrast the governments in the two stories.

4. Based on the above definition of revolution, how much difference should there be in the governments before and after this fictional revolution?

Part B

Below is a breakout regarding the government and society in England and the colonies and then in the United States. Section A provides information that describes many of the major characteristics of the society and government of England at the beginning of the American Revolutionary War. Read these characteristics very carefully. Your assignment is to investigate the characteristics of the government and society under the Articles of Confederation and the U.S. Constitution of 1787. In the space below Section B, write in important information about the structure and form of the society and government that existed in the United States in 1781 under the Articles of Confederation. In the space below Section C, write in important information about the structure and form of the society and government that existed in the United States after 1789.

Section A

The British government in April 1775

- King (chief executive), restricted powers
- King not elected, holds office through heredity
- Privy council (ministers approved by king to advise the king and administer major departments of government)
- Parliament (legislative body)
  Upper House, House of Lords, small number
  Lower House, House of Commons, larger number
- Royal court system (judges appointed by the king)
- People with many civil rights protected by law
- People directly electing members of the lower house
- A nation made up of central government with colonies within the empire allowed to pass laws not conflicting with the British Constitution
- A Parliament authorized to levy and collect taxes

Section B

The American government in 1781 under the Articles of Confederation

Section C

The American government in 1789 under the new U.S. Constitution

QUESTIONS:

1. Section A includes many of the major characteristics of the government and society in England and the British Empire at the beginning of the Revolutionary War. Of sections B and C, which section comes the closest to matching the characteristics in Section A? Explain your reasoning.

2. For the section that differs most from section A, would you say that its characteristics are radically different or just a little different from section A? Why?

3. How is the scientific definition of revolution useful in helping you make sense of social events such as what took place in America from 1760 to 1789?

6. WHAT IS LIBERTY?

The original meaning of liberty was "protection against the tyranny of the political leaders."[1] This protection consisted of limits that the people placed on their rulers. When rulers did something that the people thought was not consistent with these limits, then the people could claim that they were being denied their liberty.

Questions of liberty during the American revolutionary era emphasized civil or social freedom. This meant that the people were primarily concerned with the form of control or limits a government could have over their thoughts and actions. The major issues focused on how much power a government or the society could legally have to restrict, control or regulate their behavior. The leaders of the rebellion raised other concerns. They questioned the government's existence, the relationship between the government and its citizens and the people's rights in a society regardless of the government in power.

Below are a number of definitions of liberty that are useful in constructing a sense of what people have meant by this term. The different meanings also arose during the American revolutionary era.

- In the Renaissance, liberty meant freedom to study classical literature and philosophy rather than just documents approved by the Roman Catholic Church.

- In the Protestant Reformation, liberty meant the right to private interpretation of the scriptures rather than hearing only the version interpreted by the Church.

- In the English (or Glorious) Revolution of 1688, liberty meant freedom from the over-control by the monarchy.

Everett Dean Martin, Liberty *(1930*

Liberty is "individual free self-assertion by each [person], allowing the greatest possible self-assertion to each [person], compatible with a like free self-assertion by everyone else."

Eugene C. Gerhart, American liberty and natural law *(1986)*

"The idea of liberty is one which each epoch reshapes to its own liking."

Marc Bloch, The historian's craft (1942)

"By Liberty, I understand the Power which every Man has over his own Actions, and his Right to enjoy the Fruit of his Labour, Art, and Industry, as far as by it he hurts not the Society, or any members of it, by taking from any Member, or by hindering him from enjoying what he himself enjoys. The Fruits of a Man's honest Industry are the just Rewards of it, ascertained to him by natural and eternal Equity, as is his Title to use them in the Manner which he thinks fit: And thus, with the above Limitations, every Man is sole Lord and Arbiter of his own private Actions and Property.

"There is no word whatsoever that has admitted of more various significations, and has made more different impressions on human minds, than that of Liberty. Some have taken it for a facility of desposing a person on whom they had conferred a tyrannical authority; others for the power of choosing a person whom they are obliged to obey; others for the right of bearing arms, and of being thereby enabled to use violence; others in fine for the privilege of being governed by a native of their own country or by their own laws."

Montesquieu, in The Spirit of the Laws Book XI, *ch. 2 (1748)*

"The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, *liberty.* And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names—*liberty* and tyranny."

Abraham Lincoln, Address at Sanitary Fair, *Baltimore (April 18, 1864)*

---

[1] John Stuart Mill, *On liberty*, ed. David Spitz (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), 3.

QUESTIONS:

1. In your own words, what is liberty?

2. Do the authors of these definitions tend to be close or very different in their notions of what liberty is? Explain.

3. Which of these definitions comes closest to the definition of those who opposed Parliament?

4. Which of these definitions comes closest to the definition of the Loyalists and members of Parliament?

7. THE COLONISTS AS CITIZENS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Until the creation of the Declaration of Independence, the vast majority of the colonists who came from England as well as their descendants held that they were English citizens. They believed they owed allegiance to England and King George III. They also asserted that Britain was the greatest nation in the world and that it was a privilege to be British and be part of the British Empire.

They were very glad to be under the British government and have the rights of citizens enjoyed by those in England. From the 1200s, the people in England were the freest people in the world with the most civil rights and protections for these rights. The people admired the constitutional system, the system of common law and written law and the right to representative government. By 1765, the colonists, like citizens in England, recognized Parliament as the representative of the people and accepted role of the monarch. To many in the colonies, the British system of government served as their model, and the British Constitution represented the fabric of Britain's liberty.

However, there was concern that all their freedom and liberties might be taken from them very quickly if they were not careful. Those colonists who had studied history believed that in the past people lost their freedoms because they were not on guard to defend them. They believed that if they were not vigilant every day, they would wake up one morning and have fewer rights and less freedom.

Those who had studied history knew of situations in the past where representatives of the people stopped protecting the rights of the people. These representatives supported tyrants who ruled without concern for the law or the rights of citizens. The colonists were certain that the people themselves needed to be concerned about protecting their rights and liberty. They did not want to leave it up to Parliament or the monarch to protect their rights and freedom. The colonists feared tyrants because they feared what would happen to their rights and liberty.

One of the major themes in the arguments by the colonists was the concern that their rights were being ignored or taken from them. In many cases they thought that the actions of Parliament were actually situations where the members of Parliament had given in to the forces of tyranny in the person of King George III. Many colonists came to believe that what began in 1765 with the Stamp Act was just the beginning of the effort to take away their rights and freedom.

The colonists believed that the people were sovereign. In other words, they believed that the final source of political and government power was the people, not their representatives or the king. Beginning in 1763, many Acts of Parliament were seen as threats to the colonists' sovereignty. To them the message was growing very clear: the king was acting as if he had sovereign power and Parliament through the ministers was accepting King George's actions. If this was true, then the colonists would have no allies in Parliament or England. If Parliament gave in to the wishes and demands of King George, there would be no one left to protect the colonists' rights and freedom than the colonists themselves.

Their attitude reflected the concerns of J. G. A. Pocock, who, nearly a century earlier in 1675, wrote about Parliament:

> The king "... possesses [the] means of distracting Parliament from its proper function; it seduces members by the offer of places and pensions, by retaining them to follow ministers and ministers' rivals, by persuading them to support measures—[such as] standing armies, national debts, excise [tax] schemes—whereby the activities of administration grow beyond Parliament's control. These means and subversion are known collectively as corruption, and if ever Parliament or those who elect them—for corruption may occur at this point too—should be wholly corrupt, then there will be an end of independence and liberty."

The original problem that created violent opposition by the colonists was the Stamp Act and subsequent efforts to enforce it. The issue was the extent to which Parliament, not the monarch, had power over the colonies. Parliament had passed the law and wanted to enforce it. What is often overlooked is that Parliament had first tried to work with representatives of the colonies to find a way to raise the revenue that was needed. When these efforts were unsuccessful, Parliament passed the Stamp Act. Very few colonists were ever informed that the colonies had turned down the chance to help Parliament raise the revenue. The opposition forces made sure that the colonists believed the Stamp Act was passed by a Parliament that did not bother to consult with them or even cared about them and their rights. Perhaps the Acts of Parliament in 1763 and 1765 were the first signs that Parliament was corrupt and that the colonists were on their way to losing all their freedoms and liberty.

By 1776, many colonists believed that their rights as citizens could not be protected by staying connected to Britain. They could keep their rights and freedom only by setting up their own governments in their own colony that was independent from any threats from Britain. They were concerned more for the protection of their rights and to have liberty than for the form of government that would best give the best protection. For this reason, the issues and ideas that moved people toward open opposition to the Crown and its laws were for protection of rights, liberty and freedom. Very little attention was paid to the form of government that could best provide the protection.

QUESTIONS:

1. Imagine you were a typical colonist in the 1760s and early 1770s. What would your attitude have been about being a citizen of the British Empire?

2. At this time, what would have been four advantages of a citizen of the British Empire?

3. Why did some colonists fear that their freedom and liberty might be taken from them?

4. Define sovereignty.

5. What were two beliefs that many colonists had about sovereignty?

6. Why did the colonists react so violently to Parliament and many royal officials in the colonies?

7. What did the colonists mean by the word tyrant?

8. Between 1765 and 1775 the views of many colonists regarding Parliament and being governed by England changed drastically. What are at least two reasons why this change took place?

8. SEPARATING THE WAR FROM THE REVOLUTION: AN INTRODUCTION

The American Revolutionary War was but one part of the era of the American Revolution, which lasted from approximately 1760 to 1789. In studying the American Revolution, we can separate the military from the ideas and events that started over a decade before the conflict at Lexington and Concord. Nearly all of the major issues that aroused hundreds of thousands of colonists to action are as important to us today as they were to the colonists. For instance, today no less than in 1763, Americans complain about paying taxes, want less government in their daily lives, are concerned about their rights as citizens and as human beings, and actively insist that their government protect their rights. In one sense, the American Revolution will never end. The most important struggles associated with the American revolutionary era concerned beliefs that men and women on both sides were willing to defend with their lives.

What caused the American Revolution? This question has yet to be answered with widespread agreement among scholars. George III was not the brute and tyrant that most Americans believe he was. Under his benign rule, Americans were the freest, the most prosperous and the least taxed people on earth. The colonists in 1760 and even in April 1775, the month of the armed conflicts at Lexington and Concord, paid far fewer taxes per person than had they lived in England. Even the new taxes required by Acts of Parliament after 1763 did not increase their taxes enough to equal those paid by people in England.

The cries of "no taxation without representation" made little sense to the king and Parliament because both saw themselves as representing the British Empire and all of its citizens. Such slogans reflected a concern about other underlying issues such as power, authority, control and sovereignty. Many colonists believed that the king or Parliament or both had become tyrants, i.e., people or groups who act in an arbitrary manner to do as they wish by ignoring the law, the Constitution and the rights of citizens. For instance, many colonists did not see how the British Constitution permitted the Parliament or the king to tax them directly inside their colonies or regulate them by strict enforcement of trade and revenue laws when neither had done so from the beginning of the colonies in 1607. These colonists reasoned that tradition had established the right of the colonies to govern themselves with very little direct supervision and with few restrictions by Parliament and the monarch. They reasoned that tradition had confirmed the practice that Parliament could not levy or enforce internal taxes, those collected inside the colonies. In the British constitutional system, tradition becomes like law, but in 1763 the Crown and Parliament suddenly seemed to have departed from tradition. They insisted that their authority had always extended over the governments established in the colonies. They also contended that their failure to exercise their powers in the past did not mean that they had relinquished any over the colonies.

The colonists believed very strongly that they had the same rights as the citizens of England who were living in England. Beginning in 1763, however, a growing number believed that their rights as citizens were being taken from them or ignored. The resisters reasoned that if the Crown could tax them without representation or their direct approval, then other rights might be taken from them. By the mid-1770s, colonists were less concerned with rights they may have lost than with how far Parliament and the king might go to deprive them of other rights. As the king and Parliament tried to put down the open lawlessness, including destruction of property, looting and physical injury to Loyalists, the colonial resisters' fears of greater threats to their liberty and rights increased. The resisters saw the Intolerable Acts of 1774 as solid evidence that sooner or later all free colonists would be reduced to slaves.

In the first ten years of public opposition to Parliament and the Crown, the majority of colonists fully expected a compromise would occur. After all, over ninety percent of the colonists were British citizens. They continued to view themselves as English citizens who owed allegiance to the king. Even as late as July 1776, many leaders of the colonial opposition toasted the king and their rights as English citizens. They were patriots of Britain, and they also believed that their opposition was their rightful duty as British citizens. These beliefs explain why the colonists expected a peaceful settlement. They believed that the colonies would remain part of the British Empire. They expected the disagreements between the king and Parliament and the colonies to end quickly and to the benefit of all parties. Moreover, most colonists were not certain where their opposition to the Crown and support for such political principles as liberty and natural rights would take them. However, news of the bloody conflict in Lexington and Concord in April 1775 quickly changed the thinking of millions of people on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

The leaders of the colonial opposition in 1765, and even in 1775, did not see themselves as Founding Fathers or even revolutionaries. Few of these men thought of themselves as rebels or viewed their actions as rebellious. They were simply defending their rights as citizens of the British Empire.

At no time before the middle of the 1780s, a full twenty years after the colonists first openly challenged Parliament's authority to tax, did the early colonial opposition leaders intend to set up a large scale democracy or a republic. From the beginning, John Adams, James Otis, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and the other leaders of the Revolution thought democracy was synonymous with anarchy and mob rule. Many of these were the very men who in 1776 supported the ideas that "all men were created equal" and that all men were "endowed by their Creator" to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Many of these same men would attend the Constitutional Convention in 1787 and draw up the present U.S. Constitution.

Once their independence was secure, the colonists eventually supported one of the most revolutionary ideas of the modern world: the idea that ordinary people can have a say in their own governance. However, the Founding Fathers had no desire to establish a democratic government in which the majority of people in the nation could vote. These men feared widespread inclusion of commoners in government. They feared popular or direct democracy and sought protections against rule by the majority of the population. They valued an exclusionary—not an inclusionary—democracy, where the interests of the minority would be protected from the often irrational, emotional and whimsical majority. They also valued sovereignty (or being independent to make one's own choices and to take action without restrictions from outside powers or authority). This concern for sovereignty was one reason why the colonies resisted Parliament and the king, went to war and cooperated with one another to keep the war effort going. The leaders of each colony did not fight the war with the expectation the colony would cease to be an independent nation once the war was won. It was this expectation that lead to the formation of the Confederation in 1781.

We must not forget that the vast majority of colonists—especially those who came over from England—viewed themselves as loyal English citizens. This was true even during the most intense period of activity. They were British and they were proud of being British. That fourteen years after 1763 they would vote to sever all political ties with Britain is enormously paradoxical. Independence, indeed the war, did not have to happen. From the view of many leaders, the situation should never have been allowed to go so far as to cause the colonists to seek independence rather than reconciliation. That the revolution and the war happened were unpredicted, and yet they became fact. Why they happened is still not resolved.

QUESTIONS:

1. According to this reading, what is the definition of a tyrant?

2. During the decade before the outbreak of war, what were the two major attitudes of the colonists toward Parliament and the British Empire?

3. Why were they glad to be in the British Empire?

4. Describe the leaders of the colonial opposition to Parliament's authority in the colonies.

5. Suppose you had been a leader of the colonial opposition to Parliament at this time. What would your attitude have been toward increasing the participation of nearly everyone in the political process? Justify your response.

6. What is the definition of war?

7. Is it possible to separate the American Revolution from the American Revolutionary War? Why or Why not?

8. After the war, what did the people do that in some ways was more revolutionary than everything that they had done before?

9. What could have prevented the colonists' declaring independence and going to war?

10. Why did a minority of colonists continue to move toward independence and volunteer to fight for this cause?

9. ANNOUNCEMENT IN COLONIAL NEWSPAPER BY A CONCERNED FATHER

(IN THE VIRGINIA GAZETTE, JULY 31, 1746)

In this short announcement published in the *Virginia Gazette*, a father asks ministers not to permit the marriage of his son to the girl whom he intends to marry. Such announcements were not uncommon in colonial newspapers. It is provided here to reveal the concerns that many parents had for their children and the manner in which they might pursue these concerns. Note: This request not to marry the boy would end when the boy reached twenty-one years of age, the official age of adulthood in the British Empire.

> Caroline County, July 25, 1746. WHEREAS *Thomas Baber* my Son, a Youth of about 17 Years of Age, privately absents himself from my House without my Consent, and is supposed to be in Company with *Winefred Baley*, an evil-disposed Wench, whom I understand he intends to marry; I do hereby desire and forewarn all ministers whatever, not to marry the Said *Thomas Baber*, until he is arrived at the Age of 21 Years.
>
> *Thomas Baber*

QUESTIONS:

1. What does this announcement reveal about life in colonial Virginia in the 1740s?

2. What is the probable meaning of the phrase, "privately absents himself from my House"?

3. Why did Thomas Baber put this announcement in the newspaper?

4. Suppose you were a minister and read this announcement. Given the expectations of this period, would you marry these two people?

5. In colonial times people were not considered legal adults until the age of twenty-one. Why would Thomas Baber ask ministers not to marry his son until he arrived at the age of twenty-one?

6. What is the age in which you are legally an adult in your state? Does this age differ according to the activity or area of responsibility?

7. Imagine that you lived in colonial Virginia and read this announcement. What would your reactions be toward Thomas Baber for putting this in the newspaper?

8. Imagine that a parent put a similar announcement in today's newspaper. What would be your reaction towards that parent for putting it in the newspaper?

10. ACT FOR THE SETTLING AND BETTER REGULATION OF THE MILITIA IN VIRGINIA

(MAY 1723)

This act of the Virginia House of Burgesses, approved by the royal governor, concerns the membership, organization and possible uses of the militia in the colony of Virginia. This act was similar to ones passed in most other colonies. Students should realize that the militias were common in many small communities throughout the colonies and were established as legal units under colonial law. Notice that they were to be used in case of any invasion, insurrection or rebellion.

I. WHEREAS a due regulation of the Militia is absolutely necessary for the defence of this country, and the act now in force, doth not sufficiently provide for the same,

II. Be it therefore enacted, by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That from and after the publication of this act, the colonel, or chief officer of the militia of every county, have full power and authority to list all free male persons whatsoever, from twenty-one to sixty years of age, within his respective county, to serve on horse or foot. . . .

III. Provided nevertheless, That nothing herein contained, shall be construed to compel any person or persons that shall be, or shall have been, of his Majesty's council in this colony, speaker of the house of burgesses, secretary of this colony, judge of the court of vice-admiralty, his Majesty's attorney-general, a justice of the peace, or any person that shall have born any military commission within this colony, as high as the commission of a captain, or the clerk of the council, for the time being, or the clerk of the general court, for the time being, or any county court clerk, during his being such, personally to appear at any musters: But that all, and every of the persons aforesaid, shall and may, and are hereby required, to find and provide one ablebodied white man, a good horse, and such trooper's accouterments, as are herein after-mentioned, who shall constantly appear and exercise at all musters.

IV. Provided nevertheless, That nothing herein contained, shall impower or enable any colonel, or commander in chief, to list, or cause to be listed, any minister of the church of England, or the president, masters, professors, or students, of the college of William and Mary, during the time of their being such; or any person being employed as an overseer, and having four or more slaves under his care; or any miller, having a mill under his charge and keeping; or the founders, keepers, or any other persons emploied in or about any iron, copper, or lead work, or any other mine, during the time of their being so emploied; or any free Negro, Mulatto, or Indian.

V. Provided always, That such free Negroes, Mulattos, or Indians, as are capable, may be listed and emploied as drummers or trumpeters: And that upon any invasion, insurrection, or rebellion, all free Negroes, Mulattos, or Indians, shall be obliged to attend and march with the militia, and to do the duty of pioneers, or such other servile labour as they shall be directed to perform.

QUESTIONS:

1. Define militia.

2. What was the major purpose for having a militia?

3. What power and authority were given to the leader of each local militia?

4. Not all men in a community had to serve in the militia. What were the jobs of those men excluded from participating in their town militia?

5. Why might these men have been excluded from their community militias?

6. Consider the exemption given to professors and students at William and Mary College while they were at the school. During the 1700s, was it fair to exempt these people from serving in the militia?

7. What did this law say about free people who were not Caucasian participating in a militia unit?

8. Suppose you were a male and of age to serve in the militia in your colonies militia. What would be your attitude toward serving?

11. THE MERCANTILIST WORLD VIEW BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW

Mercantilism was the prevailing economic philosophy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One of its chief supporters was Thomas Mun, author of *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade* (1664). According to Mun, a nation's wealth consisted of the amount of precious metals contained inside its borders. The way to accumulate this treasure was to have more exportation than importation and to have the difference paid in gold or silver. Having more exports than imports is called a favorable balance of trade. The surest way to get this balance was to have colonies whose trade could be regulated for the benefit of the homeland. Thus, mercantilism was one of the forces that led England to colonize the New World. Because England had no gold or silver mines, trade was its source of specie (gold and silver). Sir Walter Raleigh and most of the original Jamestown settlers hoped to find gold there.

The basic assumption behind mercantilism is that the central government, the economy and all individual citizens of a nation thrive and prosper only when the nation's businesses, commerce, banking and industry prosper. Furthermore, because every nation is dependent upon trade, the central government should encourage as well as continually and deliberately assist these economic enterprises to develop, expand and prosper.

One of the goals of mercantilism was a strongly nationalistic effort to strengthen and secure the state. In time of war, a store of precious metals would enable a country to command necessary resources. Another goal was to achieve economic self-sufficiency for the nation so that in time of war the nation would not be dependent upon products from other nations. A third goal was to maximize profits to influential landowners, manufacturers and merchants while simultaneously producing ample revenue to the Crown.

Long-term economic prosperity required cash, but cash was scarce in the colonies. The preference was for gold and silver coins, although paper money was an acceptable alternative. Parliament and supporters of mercantilism believed that gold and silver in addition to paper money should be gathered in the England. As a result, many colonists had to pay using certain items of value, such as tobacco, cotton, rice and wheat. In other words, they might be asked to pay three bales of tobacco for taxes or to purchase some item that they wanted. Likewise, many royal officials in the colonies were paid their salaries in this way. To maintain control of the colonial economies to the benefit of English merchants, the Crown did not permit to set a fixed price for items of trade. For instance, they were forbidden to fix the price of a bale of tobacco at one amount for the entire colony. Furthermore, in the 1750s Parliament overruled a Massachusetts law that allowed the government of that colony to issue paper money.

Because colonies existed solely for the benefit of the homeland, they were expected to produce the needed raw materials and buy back manufactured goods; in other words, they were to serve as a market for Britain's growing volume of manufacturers. As early as 1651, Parliament passed a navigation act requiring that certain articles in English trade be carried only in English ships. These laws came to be known as the Navigation Acts or Acts of Trade. To encourage the colonists to procure certain needed products, a bounty was placed on indigo, tar, turpentine, hemp and flax. Moreover, to keep the colonies from trading with other countries, Parliament passed laws enumerating certain products that could be sent only to England. Among these were tobacco, sugar, wool, furs, potash, silk, whale fins, hides, skins, pearl ashes, coffee, pimento and coconuts. By serving as middlemen, English merchants could sell colonial tobacco in Europe and make huge profits. Moreover, colonial tobacco planters enjoyed a monopoly because the British government placed a high tariff on Spanish tobacco and forbade the English and the Irish to grow tobacco. In addition, colonists could by foreign goods and sell the colonial goods to foreigners, but only if they shipped them through English ports and in English or colonial ships. Thus, New England, because of its lumber, enjoyed a natural advantage since it could build trade ships. England in this way could tax foreign goods, thereby raising their prices and enabling English goods to undersell them.

But several of the acts of trade were intended to discourage manufacturing in the colonies. A clause in the Woolen Act of 1699 prohibited the exportation of wool or woolen cloth made in the colonies. Household manufacturing was permitted, but the growth of the woolen industry on a commercial scale was prohibited. Likewise, the Hat Act of 1732 forbade the exportation of American-made hats and restricted each hatmaker to two apprentices. In 1750 Parliament passed the Iron Act, which removed all duties on colonial pig iron imported into England, because the iron manufacturers wanted to encourage the production of bar and pig iron in the colonies. They did not want the colonists to work their crude iron into finished products. Nevertheless, the colonists tended to ignore these laws and often engaged in smuggling. However, they rarely openly opposed or challenged Parliament's right and authority to pass such laws. Only when Britain attempted to enforce strictly the Acts of Trade did the colonists stiffen their resistance.

By coincidence, the year that witnessed the signing of the Declaration of Independence saw the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. Smith attacked mercantilism and proposed the theory of laissez-faire economics. The book provided some concepts included in capitalism but this new economic philosophy did not gain wide acceptance until the mid-1800s.

QUESTIONS:

1. Define mercantilism.

2. What are the main elements of mercantilism?

3. Under mercantilism, what is the role of colonies?

4. Under mercantilism, what is the only way to determine the actual wealth of a nation?

5. Summarize the advantages and disadvantages of the mercantilist economic system.

12. THE MERCANTILIST WORLD VIEW: BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF THIS ECONOMIC THEORY

An upholder of the mercantilist theory of economic activity believed that all trade, manufacturing, buying and selling should follow the rules of mercantilism. Below is a list of these guidelines.

a. A country's success and survival is based upon wealth inside its borders.

b. The wealthier a country is, the more able it will be to buy the arms and pay soldiers and sailors to defend itself against other nations.

c. The wealthier a country is, the more able it will be to maintain order inside its own borders.

d. The central government must have the power and authority to regulate all industry and trade.

e. National strength increases with more exportation than importation.

f. The wealth of a nation depends primarily on the possession of gold and silver.

g. Trade is supposed to make people wealthy. Thus, the more that a nation can control and regulate trade to its advantage, the wealthier the nation will become.

h. Paper money is harmful to the economy. While paper money may be necessary, it is far less valuable than gold and silver.

i. In the absence of gold or silver mines in the homeland, a nation should strive to export more than it imports. This is the only way a country can increase its holdings of precious metals.

j. A country and its colonies should use high tariffs to restrict its importation of foreign manufactured goods.

k. A country should establish colonies as markets for its products.

l. country should establish colonies to provide raw materials for its factories.

m. A country can exploit its colonies' to get precious metals and with raw materials. This is especially true when the homeland's export industries depend on those raw materials.

n. All colonies are created primarily to enhance the homeland's economy.

QUESTIONS:

1. Under mercantilism, what are the major roles of colonies?

2. Under mercantilism, what is the only way to determine a nation's wealth?

3. If you were a colonist under the mercantilist system, what reasons would you have to oppose this system?

4. If you were a merchant in England under this system, what reasons would you have to keep this system?

5. Under mercantilism, the primary role of the central government of the empire is to regulate trade to bring gold and silver into the homeland. To do this well, would the government have to have many or only a few laws regulating trade? Why?

6. What are the advantages and disadvantages of mercantilism?

13. EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH GIVEN BY VIRGINIA'S GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE

(As Reported in the Virginia Gazette, April 24, 1752)

In an address to the House of Burgesses, Royal Governor Robert Dinwiddie stated that, because of the openness of the state and lack of many fortifications against an enemy, it was necessary to make sure that the local militias were well trained and kept ready for defense. He also warned about the dangers of swearing, drinking and gambling. Moments later he asked members of the House to encourage by example religion and virtue. This speech reveals the opinions of one important royal official in the colonies regarding what was needed to make sure the colony and individual communities had the militias that would best protect the people.

Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses,

I desire to recommend to you, as far as your Influence reaches, to see the Laws in Regard to the Militia put in Execution, by having the People duly mustered, and trained up in Military Discipline. We have an open and extensive Country, without Fortifications, so that the Protection of our Lives and Estates depend chiefly (under God) on our Militia; and it's the Maxim of all wise Nations, in Time of Peace, to prepare, and provide, against the Exigencies of war.

I further recommend to you, as far as possible, to discourage Gaming, Swearing, and immoderate Drinking, particularly at the County Courts. The first of these Crimes I am inform'd has been pretty general in this Country, and is now much practised among the lower Class of our People: I mean Tradesmen, and inferior Planters, who in all Countries are very apt to follow the Examples of their Superiors. This great Vice is often attended with many of other Sins, and frequently with the Ruin of Families. . . .

Gentlemen, I confide in you, That by your Example you will encourage Religion and Virtue.

QUESTIONS:

1. In your own words, what were Governor Dinwiddie's two major recommendations to the House of Burgesses?

2. What specific reason did he give for making his recommendations?

3. What activities did he want to discourage among men in the militias? Why?

4. If the House of Burgesses followed his recommendations to improve the militia units in Virginia, what specific actions should they have taken?

5. Dinwiddie was concerned with the defense of the entire community rather than the safety of a few. Is it permissible to risk taking some freedom away from people to improve the safety of the larger community? Why or why not?

14. THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION ON NORTH AMERICA BY KING GEORGE III

(October 7, 1763)

The king issued this proclamation to clarify the future plans for the territories that the British possessed before the French and Indian War and acquired as a result of that same war. Part of the contents of this proclamation concerns Canada, Florida and Grenada. These came under British control as a result of their victory over France and Spain. As a result, an imaginary line was drawn through the Appalachians so that the territory west of these mountains would temporarily remain available to the Indians. Governors of existing colonies and new settlements could not acquire any land that was deemed Indian land, and settlers who had already moved into this territory were ordered out of it. Furthermore, only governors could purchase Indian land, and even they could not do so easily. Trade with the Indians was permitted as long it was done free and openly, and as long as people were licensed and observant of all trade regulations. Failure to meet these terms meant a large fine and possible loss of trading privileges. Although this proclamation was intended to be a provisional measure, the colonists who expected immediate access to this territory after the war were very disappointed. Moreover, the settlers viewed the terms and limitations as permanent restrictions.

WHEREAS we have taken into our royal consideration the extensive and valuable acquisitions in America secured to our Crown by the late definitive treaty of peace concluded at Paris the 10th day of February last; and being desirous that all our loving subjects, as well of our kingdom as of our colonies in America, may avail themselves, with all convenient speed, of the great benefits and advantages which must accrue therefrom to their commerce, manufactures, and navigation; we have thought fit, with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby to publish and declare to all our loving subjects that we have, with the advice of our said Privy Council, granted our letters patent under our Great Seal of Great Britain, to erect within the countries and islands ceded and confirmed to us by the said treaty, four distinct and separate governments, styled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada, and limited and bounded as follows, viz.:

First, the government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coast by the river St. John, and from thence by a line drawn from the head of that river, through the lake of St. John, to the south end of the lake Nipissim; from whence the said line, crossing the river St. Lawrence and the lake Champlain in 45 degrees of north latitude, passes along the high lands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the sea. . . .

Secondly, the government of East Florida, bounded to the westward by the gulf of Mexico and the Apalachicola river; to the northward, by a line drawn from that part of the said river where the Chatahoochee and Flint rivers meet, to the source of the St. Mary's river, and by the course of the said river to the Atlantic Ocean. . . .

Thirdly, the government of West Florida, bounded to the . . . westward, by the lake Pontchartrain, the lake Maurepas, and the river Mississippi; to the northward, by a line drawn due east from that part of the river Mississippi which lies in 31 degrees north latitude, to the river Apalachicola or Chatahoochee; and to the eastward, by the said river. . . .

We have also, with the advice of our Privy Council aforesaid, annexed to our Province of Georgia all the lands lying between the rivers Altamaha and St. Mary's.

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our interest and the security of our colonies, that the several nations or tribes of Indians with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their hunting-grounds; we do therefore, with the advice of our Privy Council, declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that no Governor or commander in chief, in any of our colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any pretence whatever, to grant warrants of survey, or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in their commissions; as also that no Governor or commander in chief of our other colonies or plantations in America do presume for the present, and until our further pleasure be known, to grant warrants of survey or pass patents which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest; or upon any lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

And we do further declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the use of the said limits of our said three new governments, or within that of the territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company; as also all the land and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and northwest as aforesaid; and we do hereby strictly forbid, on pain of our displeasure, all our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of any of the lands above reserved, without our special leave and license for that purpose first obtained.

And we do further strictly enjoin and require all persons whatever, who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any lands within the countries above described, or upon any other lands which, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements.

And whereas great frauds and abuses have been committed in the purchasing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of our interests, and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order, therefore, to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent, we do, with the advice of our Privy Council, strictly enjoin and require, that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any lands reserved to the said Indians within those parts of our colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlement; but that if at any time any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for us, in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose by the Governor or commander in chief of our colony respectively within which they shall lie: and in case they shall lie within the limits of any proprietary government, they shall be purchased only for the use and in the name of such proprietaries, conformable to such directions and instructions as we or they shall think proper to give for that purpose. And we do, by the advice of our Privy Council, declare and enjoin, all our subjects whatever, provided that every person who may incline to trade with the said Indians do take out a license for carrying on such trade, from the Governor or commander in chief of any of our colonies respectively where such person shall reside, and also give security to observe such regulations as we shall at any time think fit, by ourselves or commissaries to be appointed for this purpose, to direct and appoint for the benefit of the said trade. And we do hereby authorize, enjoin, and require the Governors and commanders in chief of all our colonies respectively, as well those under our immediate government as those under the government and direction of proprietaries, to grant such licenses without fee or reward, taking especial care to insert therein a condition that such license shall be void, and the security forfeited, in case the person to whom the same is granted shall refuse or neglect to observe such regulations as we shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.

And we do further expressly enjoin and require all officers whatever, as well military as those employed in the management and direction of Indian affairs within the territories reserved as aforesaid, for the use of the said Indians, to seize and apprehend all persons whatever who standing charged with treasons, misprisions of treason, murders, or other felonies or misdemeanors, shall fly from justice and take refuge in the said territory, and to send them under a proper guard to the colony where the crime was committed of which they shall stand accused, in order to take their trial for the same.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the 7th day of October 1763, in the third year of our reign.

QUESTIONS:

1. What is the definition of a proclamation?

2. From what you read, what were the major purposes of this proclamation?

3. Why would King George III need to make this proclamation at this time?

4. Why did many American colonists oppose this proclamation?

5. What groups of people would benefit the most and the least from this proclamation?

6. What right did the king have to regulate what the colonists could and could not do in this territory?

7. Imagine that you were a Native American during this time and lived in these western territories. Would you approve or disapprove of the king's proclamation?

15. A DECLARATION AND REMONSTRANCE FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA FRONTIER

(February 13, 1764)

After the French and Indian War ended and Pontiac's Uprising was put down, many settlers wanted to move into the Ohio River territory. This was land that the British government said was to be Indian territory. Thus, settlers were not allowed to enter this land or buy the land from the Indians, and they were also forbidden to use other legal and all illegal means to get this land. Many settlers and developers ignored this dictate. Some were caught and arrested, and some decided to petition the government for help. This document provides the contents of one of those petitions. It was originally entitled A Declaration and Remonstrance of the Distressed and Bleeding Frontier Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania. . . . Showing the Causes of Their Late Discontent and the Grievances under Which They Have Laboured. It was presented to the government in Philadelphia for action. But, like nearly all such petitions, it did not produce any changes in English policies for this region. Later, a number of settlers saw independence from Britain as a way to get this land from the Indians.

To the Honourable John Penn, Esquire, Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania and of the Counties of *New Castle, Kent*, and *Sussex*, on *Delaware*, and to the Representatives of the Freemen of the said Province, in General Assembly met:

We, Matthew Smith and James Gibson in behalf of ourselves and His Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, the inhabitants of the frontier counties of Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks, and Northampton, humbly beg leave to remonstrate and to lay before you the following grievances, which we submit to your wisdom for redress.

1. We apprehend that as freemen and English subjects, we have an indisputable title to the same privileges and immunities with His Majesty's other subjects who reside in the interior counties of Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks, and therefore ought not to be excluded from an equal share with them in the very important privilege of legislation. Nevertheless, contrary to the Proprietor's Charter and the acknowledged principles of common justice and equity, our five counties are restrained from electing more than ten representatives, viz., four for Lancaster, two for York, two for Cumberland, one for Berks, and one for Northampton; while the three counties (and city) of Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks, elect twenty-six. This we humbly conceive is oppressive, unequal, and unjust, the cause of many of our grievances, and an infringement of our natural privileges of freedom and equality; wherefore we humbly pray that we may be no longer deprived of an equal number with the three aforesaid counties, to represent us in Assembly.
2. We understand that a bill is now before the House of Assembly, wherein it is provided that such persons as shall be charged with killing any Indians in Lancaster County, shall not be tried in the county where the fact was committed, but in the counties of Philadelphia, Chester, or Bucks. This is to cast an eternal reproach upon whole counties, as if they were unfit to serve their country in the quality of jurymen, and to contradict the well-known laws of the British nation in a point whereon life, liberty, and security essentially depend, namely, that of being tried by their equals in the neighborhood where their own, their accusers', and the witnesses' character and credit, with the circumstances of the fact, are best known, and instead thereof putting their lives in the hands of strangers who may as justly be suspected of partiality to, as the frontier in favour of Indians only, against His Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects. Besides, it is well known that the design of it is to comprehend a fact [of the Conestoga massacre] committed before such a law was thought of. And if such practices were tolerated, no man could be secure in his most valuable interests. We are also informed to our great surprize, that this bill has actually received the assent of a majority of the House, which we are persuaded could not have been the case had our frontier counties been equally represented in the Assembly. However, we hope that the Legislature of the Province will never enact a law of so dangerous a tendency, or take away from His Majesty's good subjects a privilege so long esteemed sacred by Englishmen.

3. During the late and present Indian Wars, the frontiers of this Province have been repeatedly attacked and ravaged by skulking parties of the Indians, who have with the most savage cruelty murdered men, women, and children without distinction, and have reduced near a thousand families to the most extreme distress. It grieves us to the very heart to see such of our frontier inhabitants as have escaped savage fury with the loss of their parents, their children, their wives or relatives, left destitute by the public, and exposed to the most cruel poverty and wretchedness while upwards of an hundred and twenty of the savages who are with great reason suspected of being guilty of these horrid barbarities under the mask of friendship, have procured themselves to be taken under the protection of the government, with a view to elude the fury of the brave relatives of the murdered, and are now maintained at the public expence. Some of these Indians now in the barracks of Philadelphia, are confessedly a part of the Wyalusing Indians, which tribe is now at war with us, and the others are the Moravian Indians,[1] who, living amongst us under the cloak of friendship, carried on a correspondence with our known enemies on the Great Island. We cannot but observe with sorrow and indignation that some persons in this Province are at pains to extenuate the barbarous cruelties practised by these savages on our murdered brethren and relatives, which are shocking to human nature, and must pierce every heart but that of the hardened perpetrators or their abettors, nor is it less distressing to hear others pleading that although the Wyalusing tribe is at war with us, yet that part of it which is under the protection of the government may be friendly to the English and innocent. In what nation under the sun was it ever the custom that when a neighboring nation took up arms, not an individual should be touched but only the persons that offered hostilities? Who ever proclaimed was with a part of a nation, and not with the whole? Had these Indians disapproved of the perfidy of their tribe, and been willing to cultivate and preserve friendship with us, why did they not give notice of the war before it happened, as it is known to be the result of long deliberations, and a preconcerted combination amongst them? Why did they not leave their tribe immediately, and come amongst us before there was ground to suspect them, or war was actually waged with their tribe? No, they stayed amongst them, were privy to their murders and ravages, until we had destroyed their provisions; and when they could no longer subsist at home, they come not as deserters, but as friends to be maintained through the winter, that they may be able to scalp and butcher us in the spring.

   And as to the Moravian Indians, there are strong grounds at least to suspect their friendship, as it is known they carried on a correspondence with our enemies on the Great Island. We killed three Indians going from Bethlehem to the Great Island with blankets, ammunition, and provisions, which is an undeniable proof that the Moravian Indians were in confederacy with our open enemies. And we cannot but be filled with indignation to hear this action of ours painted in the most odious and detestable colours, as if we had inhumanly murdered our guides who preserved us from perishing in the woods, when we only killed three of our known enemies, who attempted to shoot us when we surprized them. And besides all this, we understand that one of these very Indians is proved by the oath of Stenton's widow, to be the very person that murdered her husband. How then comes it to pass that he alone, of all the Moravian Indians, should join with the enemy to murder that family? Or can it be supposed that any enemy Indians, contrary to their known custom of making war, should penetrate into the heart of a settled country to burn, plunder and murder the inhabitants, and not molest any houses in their return, or ever be seen or heard of? Or how can we account for it, that no ravages have been committed in Northampton County, since the removal of the Moravian Indians, when the Great Cove has been struck since? These things put it beyond doubt with us that the Indians now at Philadelphia are His Majesty's perfidious enemies, and therefore to protect and maintain them at the public expence, while our suffering brethren on the frontiers are almost destitute of the necessaries of life and are neglected by the public, is sufficient to make us mad with rage, and tempt us to what nothing but the most violent necessity can vindicate. We humbly and earnestly pray, therefore, that those enemies of His Majesty may be removed as soon as possible out of the Province.

4. We humbly conceive that it is contrary to the maxims of good policy, and extremely dangerous to our frontiers, to suffer any Indians of what tribe soever to live within the inhabited parts of the Province while we are engaged in an Indian War; as experience has taught us that they are all perfidious, and their claim to freedom and independency puts it in their power to act as spies, to entertain and give intelligence to our enemies, and to furnish them with provisions and warlike stores. To this fatal intercourse between our pretended friends and open enemies, we must ascribe the greatest of the ravages and murders that have been committed in the course of this and the last Indian War. We therefore pray that this grievance be taken under consideration and remedied.

5. We cannot help lamenting that no provision has been hitherto made, that such of our frontier inhabitants as have been wounded in defence of the Province, their lives and liberties, may be taken care of and cured of their wounds at the publick expence. We therefore pray that this grievance may be redressed.

6. In the late Indian War this Province, with others of His Majesty's Colonies, gave rewards for Indian scalps, to encourage the seeking them in their own country, as the most likely means of destroying or reducing them to reason; but no such encouragement has been given in this war, which has damped the spirits of many brave men who are willing to venture their lives in parties against the enemy. We therefore pray that public rewards may be proposed for Indian scalps, which may be adequate to the dangers attending enterprizes of this nature.

7. We daily lament that numbers of our nearest and dearest relatives are still in captivity among the savage heathen, to be trained up in all their ignorance and barbarity, or to be tortured to death with all the contrivances of Indian cruelty, for attempting to make their escape from bondage. We see they pay no regard to the many solemn promises which they have made to restore our friends who are in bondage amongst them. We therefore earnestly pray that no trade may hereafter be permitted to be carried on with them, until our brethren and relatives are brought home to us.

8. We complain that a certain Society [of Friends, i.e., Quakers] of people in this Province, in the late Indian War, and at several treaties held by the king's representatives, openly loaded the Indians with presents, and that J. P., a leader of the said Society, in defiance of all government, not only abetted our Indian enemies, but kept up a private intelligence with them, and publickly received from them a belt of wampum, as if he had been our Governor or authorized by the king to treat with his enemies. By this means the Indians have been taught to despise us as a weak and disunited people, and from this fatal source have arose many of our calamities under which we groan. We humbly pray therefore that this grievance may be redressed, and that no private subject be hereafter permitted to treat with, or carry on a correspondence with our enemies.

9. We cannot but observe with sorrow that Fort Augusta, which has been very expensive to the Province, has afforded us but little assistance during this or the last war. The men that were stationed at that place neither helped our distressed inhabitants to save their crops, nor did they attack our enemies in their towns, or patrole on our frontiers. We humbly request that proper measures may be taken to make that garrison more serviceable to us in our distress, if it can be done.

N.B. We are far from intending any reflection against the Commanding Officer stationed at Augusta, as we presume his conduct was always directed by those from whom he received his orders.

SIGNED on behalf of ourselves, and by appointment of a great number of the frontier inhabitants.
MATTHEW SMITH
JAMES GIBSON

---

[1] The Moravian Indians were an Algonquin tribe who converted to Christianity by German Moravian missionaries earlier in the century. They dedicated themselves to pacifism and agriculture. Although they made a number of very unsuccessful attempts to stay out of the uneasy, often violent conflicts between other Indians and the French and English colonists, they were eventually exterminated by the white settlers.

QUESTIONS:

1. Look at a map of North American for 1764. Locate the region known as western Pennsylvania. Is western Pennsylvania east or west of the line that the king declared as the western boundary of the thirteen American colonies?

2. What is a good definition of a frontier?

3. Why would people in 1764 want to move into the western frontier of Pennsylvania?

4. What did these inhabitants think of the Indians that live in this region?

5. What do these inhabitants want the assembly to do?

6. If all the demands of the inhabitants were met, what changes would take place in this frontier region?

7. If you were an Indian in this territory, what would be the best decision the assembly could make to help you?

8. Was the king acting like a tyrant when he restricted the colonists activities in this territory?

16. THE RIGHTS OF THE BRITISH COLONIES ASSERTED AND PROVED

JAMES OTIS BOSTON, 1764

James Otis, a Boston lawyer, played a central role in the colonial protest that started in the middle of the French and Indian War. In an important case, he pleaded that the actions by Crown officials were not in keeping with the rights of English citizens and of all men. He won his case. In this document, Otis, expanding on the ideas he introduced four years earlier, presents his reasoning for the rights that the colonies had and that the colonial people had as citizens of the British Empire.

It is, however, true in fact and experience, as the great, the incomparable Harrington has most abundantly demonstrated in his Oceana, and other divine writings, that Empire follows the balance of property: 'Tis also certain that property in fact generally confers power, tho' the possessor of it may not have much more wit than a mole or a musquash. And this is too often the cause, that riches are sought after, without the least concern about the right application of them. But is the fault in the riches, or the general law of nature, or the unworthy possessor? It will never follow from all this, that government is rightfully founded on property, alone. What shall we say then? Is not government founded on grace? No. Nor on force? No. Nor on compact? Nor property? Not altogether on either. Has it any solid foundation? Any chief corner stone, but what accident, chance or confusion may lay one moment and destroy the next? I think it has an everlasting foundation in the unchangeable will of God, the author of nature, whose laws never vary. The same omniscient, omnipotent, infinitely good and gracious Creator of the universe, who has been pleased to make it necessary that what we call matter should gravitate, for the celestial bodies to roll round their axes, dance their orbits and perform their various revolutions in that beautiful order and concert, which we all admire, has made it equally necessary that from Adam and Eve to these degenerate days, the different sexes should sweetly attract each other, form societies of single families, of which larger bodies and communities are as naturally, mechanically, and necessarily combined, as the dew of Heaven and the soft distilling rain is collected by the all enliv'ning heat of the sun. Government is therefore most evidently founded on the necessities of our nature. It is by no means an arbitrary thing, depending merely on compact or human will for its existence. . . .

'The natural liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth, and not to be under the will or legislative authority of man, but only to have the law of nature for his rule.' This is the liberty of independent states; this is the liberty of every man out of society, and who has a mind to live so; which liberty is only abridged in certain instances, not lost to those who are born in or voluntarily enter into society; this gift of God cannot be annihilated. . . .

The Colonists being men, have a right to be considered as equally entitled to all the rights of nature with the Europeans, and they are not to be restrained in the exercise of any of these rights, but for the evident good of the whole community. By being or becoming members of society, they have not renounced their natural liberty in any greater degree than other good citizens, and if 'tis taken from them without their consent, they are so far enslaved.

I also lay it down as one of the first principles from whence I intend to deduce the civil rights of the British colonies that all of them are subject to, and dependent on Great Britain; and that therefore as over subordinate governments, the Parliament of Great Britain has an undoubted power and lawful authority to make Acts for the general good, that by naming them, shall and ought to be equally binding, as upon the subjects of Great Britain within the realm. This principle, I presume, will be readily granted on the other side the Atlantic. It has been practised upon for twenty years to my knowledge, in the province of the Massachusetts-Bay; and I have ever received it, that it has been so from the beginning, in this and the sister provinces, thro' the continent. . . .

The power of Parliament is uncontroulable, but by themselves, and we must obey. They only can repeal their own Acts. There would be an end of all government, if one or a number of subjects or subordinate provinces should take upon them so far to judge of the justice of an Act of Parliament, as to refuse obedience to it. If there was nothing else to restrain such a step, prudence ought to do it, for forceably resisting the Parliament and the king's laws, is high treason. Therefore let the Parliament lay what burthens [burdens] they please on us, we must, it is our duty to submit and patiently bear them, till they will be pleased to relieve us. And 'tis to be presumed the wisdom and justice of that august assemble, always will afford us relief by repealing such Acts, as through mistake, or other human infirmities, have been suffered to pass, if they can be convinced that their proceedings are not constitutional, or not for the common good....

Reasons may be given, why an Act ought to be repeal'd, and yet obedience must be yielded to it till that repeal takes place. If the reasons that can be given against an Act are such as plainly demonstrate that it is against natural equity, the executive courts will adjudge such Act void. It may be questioned by some, tho' I make no doubt of it, whether they are not obliged by their oaths to adjudge such Act void....

I cannot but observe here, that if the Parliament have an equitable right to tax our trade, 'tis indisputable that they have as good an one to tax the lands, and everything else ... There is no foundation for the distinction some make in England, between an internal and an external tax on the colonies. By the first is meant a tax on trade, by the latter a tax of every man in the province, or 'tis not. If 'tis not a tax on the whole, 'tis unequal and unjust, that a heavy burden should be laid on the trade of the colonies, to maintain an army of soldiers, custom-house officers, and fleets of guard-ships; all which, the incomes of both trade and land would not furnish means to support so lately as the last war, when all was stake, and the colonies were reimbursed in part by Parliament. How can it be supposed that all of a sudden the trade of the colonies alone can bear all this terrible burden. The late acquisitions in America, as glorious as they have been, and as beneficial as they are to Great-Britain, are only a security to these colonies against the ravages of the French and Indians. Our trade upon the whole is not, I believe, benefited by them one groat....

To say the Parliament is absolute and arbitrary is a contradiction. The Parliament cannot make 2 and 2, 5: Omnipotency cannot do it. The supreme power in a state is *ius dicere* only: *ius dare*, strictly speaking, belongs alone to God. Parliaments are in all cases to declare what is for the good of the whole; but it is not the declaration of Parliament that makes it so: There must be in every instance a higher authority, viz, God. Should an Act of Parliament be against any of His natural laws, which are immutable true, their declaration would be contrary to eternal truth, equity, and justice, and consequently void: and so it would be adjudged by the Parliament itself, when convinced of their mistake. Upon this great principle, Parliaments repeal such Acts, as soon as they find they have been mistaken, in having declared them to be for the public good, when in fact they were not so. When such mistake is evident and palpable, as in the instances in the appendix, the judges of the executive courts have declared the Act 'of a whole Parliament void'. See here the grandeur of the British Constitution! See the wisdom of our ancestors! The supreme legislative, and the supreme executive, are a perpetual check and balance to each other. If the supreme executive errs, it is informed by the supreme legislative in Parliament: If the supreme legislative errs, it is informed by the supreme executive in the king's courts of law. Here, the king appears, as represented by his judges, in the highest lustre and majesty, as supreme executor of the Commonwealth; and he never shines brighter, but on his throne, at the head of the supreme legislative. This is government! This is a constitution! To preserve which, either from foreign or domestic foes, has cost oceans of blood and treasure in every age; and the blood and the treasure have upon the whole been well spent....

Sometimes we have been considered only as the corporations in England: and it may be urged that it is no harder upon us to be taxed by Parliament for the general cause that for them, who besides are at the expence of their corporate subordinate government. I answer, (1) those corporations are represented in Parliament; (2) the colonies are and have been at great expence in raising men, building forts, and supporting the king's civil government here. Now I read of no governors and other officers of His Majesty's nomination, that the city of London taxes its inhabitants to support; I know of no forts and garrisons that the city of London has lately built at its own expence, or of any annual levies that they have raised for the king's service and the common cause. These are things very fitting and proper to be done by a subordinate dominion, and 'tis their duty to do all they are able; but it seems but equal they should be allowed to assess the charges of it themselves. The rules of equity and the principles of the constitution seem to require this. Those who judge of the reciprocal rights that subsist between a supreme and subordinate state of dominion, by no higher rules than are applied to a corporation of button-makers, will never have a very comprehensive view of them....

The sum of my argument is, that civil government is of God: that the administrators of it were originally the whole people: that they might have devolved it on whom they pleased: that this devolution is fiduciary, for the good of the whole; that by the British Constitution, this devolution is on the king, lords and commons, the supreme, sacred and uncontroulable legislative power, not only in the realm, but thro' the dominions: that by abdication, the original compact was broken to pieces: that by the Revolution, it was renewed, and more firmly established, and the rights and liberties of the subjects in all parts of the dominions more fully explained and confirmed; that is consequence of this establishment, and the Acts of Succession and Union, His Majesty George III is rightful king and sovereign, and with his Parliament, the supreme legislative of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging: that this constitution is the most free one, and by far the best, now existing on earth; that by this constitution, every man in the dominions is a free man: that no parts of His Majesty's dominions can be taxed without their consent: that every part has a right to be represented in the supreme or some subordinate legislature: that the refusal of this would seem to be a contradiction in practice to the theory of the constitution: that the colonies are subordinate dominions, and are now in such a state, as to make it best for the good of the whole, that they should not only be continued in the enjoyment of subordinate legislation, but be also represented in some proportion to their number and estates, in the grand legislature of the nation: that this would firmly unite all parts of the British Empire, in the greatest peace and prosperity; and render it invulnerable and perpetual. . . .

QUESTIONS:

1. What were all the rights that Otis said belonged to the colonies and the colonists?

2. Summarize Otis's view of citizens' rights.

3. Summarize his view of the king's ability to rule.

4. What definition might Otis have for liberty?

5. What are at least three of Otis's ideas about rights that you reject or see as being incorrect?

6. Which of Otis's ideas do you consider important to you today?

17. ACTS OF PARLIAMENT

This form can be used to arrange information on any of the Acts of Parliament that were important during the revolutionary era. You are to select an Act of Parliament and investigate it.

Name of the Act of Parliament: ______________________________

Date in which act was proposed in the House of Commons: ______________________________

Date in which act was approved in the House of Commons: ______________________________

Name of the prime minister responsible for getting this act approved: ______________________________

Major conditions, actions and provisions that were established by this act:

a. ______________________________

b. ______________________________

c. ______________________________

d. ______________________________

Major purposes of (or reasons for) this act and what the act established or did:

a. ______________________________

b. ______________________________

c. ______________________________

d. ______________________________

The expected and actual advantages of this act:

a. ______________________________

b. ______________________________

c. ______________________________

d. ______________________________

The expected and actual disadvantages of this act:

a. ______

b. ______

c. ______

d. ______

The specific colonial arguments against this particular act:

a. ______

b. ______

c. ______

d. ______

The outcomes of this act:

a. ______

b. ______

c. ______

d. ______

The date this act was ( )amended or ( )repealed: ______

Major reasons why this act was amended or repealed: ______

a. ______

b. ______

The expected and actual advantages or benefits of this act once passed:

a. ______

b. ______

c. ______

d. ______

The expected and actual disadvantages or faults of this act once passed:

a. ____________________

b. ____________________

c. ____________________

d. ____________________

The specific colonial arguments against this particular act and what the act established and did:

a. ____________________

b. ____________________

c. ____________________

d. ____________________

Date this act was ( )amended or ( )repealed:

Major reasons why this act was amended or repealed:

a. ____________________

b. ____________________

18. THE VIRGINIA STAMP ACT RESOLVES

(INTRODUCED IN THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES BY PATRICK HENRY AND APPROVED ON MAY 30, 1765)

This resource provides important ideas that many people in Virginia and across the colonies held about the right and power to tax the colonists. The ideas expressed in these resolutions greatly influenced the thinking of many people in the colonies. These resolves were sent to King George III and Parliament. They influenced attendance at the Stamp Act Congress and helped shape the resolutions that came out of that congress.

On May 31, 1765, the House voted, after Henry's departure, to drop the fifth resolve and approve the remainder of the resolution. At least two other resolves were later put forth, but Henry chose not to make these public.

Resolved, That the first Adventurers and Settlers of this his Majesty's Colony and Dominion of *Virginia* brought with them and transmitted to their Posterity, and all other his Majesty's Subjects since inhabiting in this his Majesty's said Colony, all the Liberties, Privileges, Franchises, and Immunities, that have at any Time been held, enjoyed, and possessed, by the people of *Great Britain.*

Resolved, That by two royal charters, granted by King James, the First, the Colonists aforesaid are declared entitled to all Liberties, Privileges, and Immunities of Denizens and natural Subjects, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the Realm of *England.*

Resolved, That the Taxation of the People by themselves, or by Persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what Taxes the People are able to bear, or the easiest Method of raising them, and must themselves be affected by every Tax laid on the People, is the only Security against a burthensome Taxation, and the distinguishing Characteristick of British Freedom, without which the ancient Constitution cannot exist.

Resolved, That his Majesty's liege People of this his most ancient and loyal Colony have without Interruption enjoyed the inestimable Right of being governed by such Laws, respecting their internal Polity and Taxation, as are derived from their own Consent, with the Approbation of their Sovereign, or his Substitute; and that the same hath never been forfeited or yielded up, but hath been constantly recognized by the kings and People of *Great Britain.*

Resolved, therefore, That the General Assembly of this colony has the only and sole exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony, and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom.

QUESTIONS:

1. What is the meaning of the term resolves?

2. What four important ideas about taxation are expressed in these resolves?

3. These resolves reveal the colonists' notion of the relationship between the power of the king and Parliament and the power of the local legislatures. What are the two most important ideas in this statement that describe their view of this relationship?

4. Why in May 1765 did the House of Burgesses consider a resolution such as this?

5. What statements in these resolves suggest the Virginians view themselves as being loyal to the king and Britain?

6. In the fifth resolve, the Virginians claim that no person or body other than the House of Burgesses should be allowed to tax the people. Why might the House of Burgesses have dropped the fifth resolve?

7. The colonists were concerned with liberty. What do the ideas expressed in these resolves have to do with liberty?

19. OPPOSITION TO THE 1765 STAMP ACT

BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, PHILADELPHIA

Writing poems and songs in favor of or in opposition to particular events or ideas was a common activity among citizens in all of the colonies. Many newspapers published these poems and songs. This resource includes the words of an untitled poem by Benjamin Franklin. He uses the word mother to mean Britain, the mother country of the empire. The pronouns us and we refer to the colonies and colonists.

We have an old Mother who peevish is grown,

She snubs us like children that scarce walk alone,

She forgets that we're grown with sense of our own.

❧

If we don't obey orders, whatever the case,

She frowns and she chides and loses all patience,

And sometimes she hits us a slap in the face.

❧

Her orders are so, we often suspect,

That age has impaired her of sound intellect:

But still, an old Mother should have due respect...

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

QUESTIONS

1. Summarize the main idea of the poem.

2. As used in this poem, who or what was the "old Mother"?

3. What are the most positive statements that the narrator makes about Britain?

4. How does the narrator describe the colonies in 1765? Cite specific words from the text.

5. As he wrote this poem, what specific emotions might Franklin have felt toward Britain?

6. What would the narrator prefer "Mother" do?

7. Suppose you were a Loyalist or a member of Parliament and you read this poem. Would you agree or disagree with this view of Britain?

20. BIRTH OF THE "SONS OF LIBERTY"

Sometimes a phrase is uttered that captures the attention of people far beyond its original audience. During the Stamp Act debates in Parliament, Isaac Barre tried to defend the colonies. In his speech he not only defended the colonies, but he also presented a number of views that were welcomed in the colonies. He also uttered one phrase, sons of liberty, that gave him instant acclaim in the colonies. In the few seconds that he took to say the three words, he gave birth to the Sons of Liberty, a group originally founded to oppose the Stamp Act. In this excerpt he is speaking directly to Charles Townshend, an ardent advocate of Parliament's position, and the entire membership of Parliament. This resource also includes a short narrative on the origin of groups of Sons of Liberty in the colonies and a description of a typical Son of Liberty in 1775.

> ... [The colonies] planted by your Care? No! Your Oppressions planted [them] in America. They fled from your Tyranny to a then uncultivated and unhospitable Country—where they exposed themselves to almost all the Cruelties of a Savage foe. And yet, actuated by Principles of true English Lyberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own Country, from the hands of those who should have been their Friends.
>
> They nourished up by your indulgence? They grew by your neglect of [them]: as soon as you began to care about [them], that Care was Exercised in sending persons to rule over [them] ... who were perhaps the Deputies of Deputies to some Member of this house—sent to Spy out their Lyberty, to misrepresent their Actions and to prey upon [them]; men whose behaviour on many Occasions has caused the Blood of those Sons of Liberty to recoil within them.
>
> They protected by your Arms? They have nobly taken up Arms in your Defence [against the French and Indians], ... for the defence of a Country, whose frontier, while drench'd in blood, ... yielded all its little Savings to your Emolument [advantage]. And believe me, remember I this Day told you so, that same Spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first [beginning in 1607 at Jamestown] will accompany them still.

The original group calling itself the Sons of Liberty was established in New York City as a New York City committee of correspondence in opposition to the Stamp Act. This group became one of the most radical and persistent of the colonial groups opposing English laws. By the end of 1765, Sam Adams began using this term to refer to colonists who opposed any Acts of Parliament or royal orders aimed at the colonies. Most often the name Son of Liberty was given to any person, organized or not, who opposed selected policies and actions by the English government.

Ten years after Barre's speech, the *New York Journal* (March 23, 1775) reported that a Son of Liberty is "... a friend and asserter of the rights of the people, and the English Constitution, a warm patriot, and opposer of the tyrannical acts and pretensions of the British Parliament."

QUESTIONS:

1. Given the information in Barre's speech, what might have been his definition of liberty?

2. For Barre, who were the Sons of Liberty? Why did he call them this?

3. Groups of Daughters of Liberty began forming shortly after the origin of the Sons of Liberty. Given what you know about the Sons of Liberty, what would have been the purposes of the Daughters of Liberty?

4. What definition might these Sons of Liberty give for tyranny?

5. Imagine that you lived during the 1760s and 1770s. Would you have joined this group? Why or why not?

6. In today's society, is there a need for a group like the Sons or Daughters of Liberty? Why or why not?

21. RESOLUTIONS OF THE STAMP ACT CONGRESS

OCTOBER 19, 1765

In September 1765, representatives of the colonies met in what is known as the Stamp Act Congress. It convened to decide what should be done about the Stamp Act. The members considered whether the colonies should act separately or together. The representatives decided to act as a single group in opposition to the Stamp Act. They also wanted Parliament, the king and the colonists to know why they were so upset by the Stamp Act. The resolutions in this resource reveal that, in addition to the Stamp Act, they worried about their rights, their role with regards to the king and Parliament, and their views about being loyal to the Crown.

The members of this Congress, sincerely devoted with the warmest sentiments of affection and duty to His Majesty's person and government, inviolably attached to the present happy establishment of the Protestant succession, and with minds deeply impressed by a sense of the present and impending misfortunes of the British colonies on this continent; having considered as maturely as time will permit the circumstances of the said colonies, esteem it our indispensable duty to make the following declarations of our humble opinion respecting the most essential rights and liberties of the colonists, and of the grievances under which they labour, by reason of several late Acts of Parliament.

I. That His Majesty's subjects in these colonies owe the same allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain that is owing from his subjects born within the realm, and all due subordination to that august body the Parliament of Great Britain.

II. That His Majesty's liege subjects in these colonies are entitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of his natural born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain.

III. That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them but with their own consent, given personally or by their representatives.

IV. That the people of these colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in the House of Commons in Great Britain.

V. That the only representatives of the people of these colonies are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been, or can be constitutionally imposed on them, but by their respective legislatures.

VI. That all supplies to the Crown being free gifts of the people, it is unreasonable and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British Constitution, for the people of Great Britain to grant to His Majesty the property of the colonists.

VII. That trial by jury is the inherent and invaluable right of every British subject in these colonies.

VIII. That the late Act of Parliament, entitled An act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties, in the British colonies and plantations in America, etc., by imposing taxes on the inhabitants of these colonies; and the said Act, and several other Acts, by extending the jurisdiction of the courts of Admiralty beyond its ancient limits, have a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists.

IX. That the duties imposed by several late Acts of Parliament, from the peculiar circumstances of these colonies, will be extremely burthensome and grievous; and from the scarcity of specie, the payment of them absolutely impracticable.

X. That as the profits of the trade of these colonies ultimately center in Great Britain, to pay for the manufactures which they are obliged to take from thence, they eventually contribute very largely to all supplies granted there to the Crown.

XI. That the restrictions imposed by several late Acts of Parliament on the trade of these colonies will render them unable to purchase the manufactures of Great Britain.

XII. That the increase, prosperity, and happiness of these colonies depend on the full and free enjoyments of their rights and liberties, and an intercourse with Great Britain mutually affectionate and advantageous.

XIII. That it is the right of the British subjects in these colonies to petition the king or either House of Parliament.

Lastly, That it is the indispensible duty of these colonies to the best of sovereigns, to the mother country, and to themselves, to endeavour by a loyal and dutiful address to His Majesty, and humble applications to both Houses of Parliament, to procure the repeal of the [Stamp] Act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, of all clauses of any other Acts of Parliament, whereby the jurisdiction of the Admiralty is extended as aforesaid, and of the other late Acts for the restriction of American commerce.

QUESTIONS:

1. What are the most important ideas these representatives wanted to express to the king and Parliament?

2. What might be the most important actions by the king or Parliament that these representatives did not like?

3. Looking at the language of this petition, were the colonists rejecting their position as citizens of Britain?

4. According to this petition, how did the Acts of Parliament life in the colonies?

5. Were the colonists pleased or displeased to be citizens of Britain?

6. What specific statements in this document reveal that the colonists were willing to follow laws passed by Parliament?

7. If this resolution were accepted by Parliament, what groups of people would most benefit from the provisions included in it? What groups would suffer most?

8. According to this document, why did the colonists oppose the Stamp Act?

9. What alternative plan did the colonists propose to replace the Acts of Parliament which they want repealed?

10. What do the ideas expressed in these resolutions have to do with liberty?

22. THE OBJECTIONS TO THE TAXATION OF OUR AMERICAN COLONIES BY THE LEGISLATURE OF GREAT BRITAIN, BRIEFLY CONSIDER'D

Soame Jenyns, London, 1765

Soame Jenyns served as a Member of Parliament from 1754 to 1780. He also served on the Board of Trade, a group that helped oversee trade policies and regulations for the entire empire. This pamphlet was very popular in England because it supported Parliament's position on taxing the colonies.

The right of the Legislature of Great Britain to impose taxes on her American colonies, and the expediency of exerting that right in the present conjuncture, are propositions so indisputably clear that I should never have thought it necessary to have undertaken their defence, had not many arguments been lately flung out both in papers and conversation, which with insolence equal to their absurdity deny them both. As these are usually mixt up with several patriotic and favorite words such as liberty, property, Englishmen, etc., which are more apt to make strong impressions on that more numerous part of mankind who have ears but no understanding, it will not, I think, be improper to give them some answers. To this, therefore, I shall singly confine myself, and do it in as few words as possible, being sensible that the fewest will give least trouble to myself, and probably most information to my reader.

The great capital argument which I find on this subject, and which, like an elephant at the head of a Nabob's army, being once overthrown must put the whole into confusion, is this; that no Englishman is, or can be taxed, but by his own consent: by which must be meant one of these three propositions; either that no Englishman can be taxed without his own consent as an individual; or that no Englishman can be taxed without the consent of the persons he chuses to represent him; or that no Englishman can be taxed without the consent of the majority of all those who are elected by himself and others of his fellow subjects to represent them. Now let us impartially consider whether any one of these propositions are in fact true: if not, then this wonderful structure which has been erected upon them falls at once to the ground, and like another Babel, perishes by a confusion of words, which the builders themselves are unable to understand.

First then, that no Englishman is or can be taxed but by his own consent as an individual; this is so far from being true, that it is the very reverse of truth; for no man that I know of is taxed by his own consent, and an Englishman, I believe, is as little likely to be so taxed as any man in the world.

Secondly, that no Englishman is or can be taxed but by the consent of those persons whom he has chose to represent him. For the truth of this I shall appeal only to the candid representatives of those unfortunate counties which produce cyder, and shall willingly acquiesce [to pay the taxes] under their determination.[1]

Lastly, that no Englishman is or can be taxed without the consent of the majority of those who are elected by himself and others of his fellow subjects to represent them. This is certainly as false as the other two; for every Englishman is taxed, and not one in twenty represented: copyholders, leaseholders, and all men possessed of personal property only, chuse no representatives; Manchester, Birmingham, and many more of our richest and most flourishing trading towns send no members to Parliament, consequently cannot consent by their representatives, because they chuse none to represent them; yet are they not Englishmen? or are they not taxed?

I am well aware that I shall hear Locke, Sidney, Selden, and many other great names quoted to prove that every Englishman, whether he has a right to vote for a representative or not, is still represented in the British Parliament, in which opinion they all agree. On what principle of commonsense this opinion is founded I comprehend not, but on the authority of such respectable names I shall acknowledge its truth; but then I will ask one question, and on that I will rest the whole merits of the cause. Why does not this imaginary representation extend to America as well as over the whole Island of Great Britain? If it can travel three hundred miles, why not three thousand? If it can jump over rivers and mountains, why cannot it sail over the ocean? If the towns of Manchester and Birmingham, sending no representatives to Parliament, are notwithstanding there represented, why are not the cities of Albany and Boston equally represented in the Assembly? Are they not alike British subjects? are they not Englishmen? or are they only Englishmen when they sollicit for protection, but not Englishmen when taxes are required to enable this country to protect them?

But it is urged that the colonies are by their charters placed under distinct governments each of which has a legislative power within itself, by which alone it ought to be taxed; that if this privilege is once given up, that liberty which every Englishman has a right to, is torn from them, they are all slaves, and all is lost.

The liberty of an Englishman is a phrase of so various a signification, having within these few years been used as a synonymous term for blasphemy, bawdy, treason, libels strong beer, and cyder, that I shall not here presume to define its meaning; but I shall venture to assert what it cannot mean; that is, an exemption from taxes imposed by the authority of the Parliament of Great Britain; nor is there any charter that ever pretended to grant such a privilege to any colony in America; and had they granted it, it could have had no force; their charters being derived from the Crown, and no charter from the Crown can possibly supersede the right of the whole legislature. Their charters are undoubtedly no more than those of all corporations, which impower them to make bye-laws, and raise duties for the purposes of their own police, for every subject to the superior authority of Parliament; and in some of their charters the manner of exercising these powers is specifyed in these express words, 'according to the course of other corporations in Great Britain.' And therefore they can have no more pretence to plead an exemption from this parliamentary authority, than any other corporation in England.

It has been moreover alleged, that though Parliament may have power to impose taxes on the colonies, they have no right to use it, because it would be an unjust tax; and no supreme or legislative power can have a right to enact any law in its nature unjust. To this, I shall only make this short reply, that if Parliament can impose no taxes but what are equitable, and if the persons taxed are to be the judges of that equity, they will in effect have no power to lay any tax at all. No tax can be imposed exactly equal on all, and if it is not equal it cannot be just, and if it is not just, no power whatever can impose it; by which short syllogism all taxation is at end; but why it should not be used by Englishmen on this side of the Atlantic as well as by those on the other, I do not comprehend.

Thus much for the right. Let us now a little inquire into the expediency of this measure, to which two objections have been made; that the time is improper, and the manner wrong.

As to the first, can any time be more proper to require some assistance from our colonies, to preserve to themselves their present safety, than when this country is almost undone by procuring it? Can any time be more proper to impose some tax upon their trade, than when they are enabled to rival us in our manufactures, by the encouragement and protection which we have given them? Can any time be more proper to oblige them to settle handsome incomes on their Governors, than when we find them unable to procure a subsistence on any other terms than those of breaking all their instructions, and betraying the rights of their sovereign? Can there be a more proper time to compel them to fix certain salaries on their judges, than when we see them so dependent on the humors of their Assemblies, that they can obtain a livelihood no longer than *quam diu se male gesserint?* Can there be a more proper time to force them to maintain an army at their expense, than when that army is necessary for their own protection, and we are utterly unable to support it? Lastly; can there be a more proper time for this mother country to leave off feeding out of her own vitals these children whom she has nursed up, than when they are arrived at such strength and maturity as to be well able to provide for themselves, and ought rather with filial duty to give some assistance to her distresses?

As to the manner; that is, the imposing taxes on the colonies by the authority of Parliament, it is said to be harsh and arbitrary; and that it would have been more consistent with justice, at least with maternal tenderness, for administration here to have settled quotas on each of the colonies, and have then transmitted them with injunctions that the sums allotted should be immediately raised by their respective legislatures, on the penalty of their being imposed by parliament in case of their non-compliance. But was this to be done, what would be the consequence? Have their Assemblies shewn so much obedience to the orders of the Crown, that we could reasonably expect that they would immediately tax themselves on the arbitrary command of a minister? Would it be possible here to settle those quotas with justice, or would any one of the colonies submit to them, were they ever so just? Should we not be compared to those Roman tyrants, who used to send orders to their subjects to murder themselves within so many hours, most obligingly leaving the method to their own choice, but on their disobedience threatening a more severe fate from the hands of an executioner? And should we not receive votes, speeches, resolutions, petitions, and remonstrances in abundance, instead of taxes? In short, we wither have a right to tax the colonies, or we have not. If Parliament is possessed of this right, why should it be exercised with more delicacy in America than it has ever been even in Great Britain itself? If on the other hand, they have no such right, sure it is below the dignity as well as justice of the Legislature to intimidate the colonies with vain threats, which they have really no right to put in execution.

One method indeed has been hinted at, and but one, that might render the exercise of this power in a British Parliament just and legal, which is the introduction of representatives from the several colonies into that body; but as this has never seriously been proposed, I shall not here consider the impracticability of this method, nor the effects of it if it could be practised: but only say that I have lately seen so many specimens of the great powers of speech of which these American gentlemen are possessed, that I should be much afraid that the sudden importation of so much eloquence at once, would greatly endanger the safety and government of this country; or in terms more fashionable, though less understood, this our most excellent constitution. If we can avail ourselves of these taxes on no other condition, I shall never look upon it as a measure of frugality; being perfectly satisfyied that in the end it will be much cheaper for us to pay their army than their orators.

I cannot omit taking notice of one prudential reason which I have heard frequently urged against this taxation of the colonies, which is this: That if they are by this means impoverished, they will be unable to purchase our manufactures, and consequently we shall lose that trade from which the principal benefit which we receive from them must arise. But surely, it requires but little sagacity to see the weakness of this argument; for should the colonies raise taxes for the purposes of their own government and protection, would the money so raised be immediately annihilated? What some pay, would not others receive? Would not those who so received it, stand in need of as many of our manufactures, as those who pay? Was the army there maintained at the expence of the Americans, would the soldiers want fewer coats, hats, shirts, or shoes than at the present? Had the judges salaries ascertained to them, would they not have occasion for as costly perriwigs, or robes of as expensive scarlet, as marks of their legal abilities, as they now wear in their present state of dependency? Or had their Governors better incomes settled on them for observing their instructions, than they can now with difficulty obtain for disobeying them, would they expend less money in their several governments, or bring home at their return less riches to lay out in the manufactories of their native country?

It has been likewise asserted that every shilling which our colonies can raise either by cultivation or commerce, finally centers in this country; and therefore it is argued we can acquire nothing by their taxation, since we can have no more than their all; and whether this comes in by taxes or by trade, the consequence is the same. But allowing this assertion to be true, which it is not, yet the reasoning upon it is glaringly false: for surely it is not the same whether the wealth derived from these colonies flows immediately into the coffers of the public, or into the pockets of individuals from whence it must be squeezed by various domestic taxes before it can be rendered of any service to the nation. Surely it is by no means the same, whether this money brought in by taxes enables us to diminish part of that enormous debt contracted by the last expensive war, or whether coming in by trade it enables the merchant, by augmenting his influence together with his wealth, to plunge us into new wars and new debts for his private advantage.

From what has been here said, I think that not only the right of the legislature of Great Britain to impose taxes on her colonies, not only the expediency, but the absolute necessity of exercising that right in the present conjuncture, has been so clearly though concisely proved, that it is to be hoped that in this great and important question all parties and factions, or in the more polite and fashionable term, all connections will most cordially unite; that every member of the British Parliament, whether in or out of humour with Administration, whither he has been turned out, will endeavour to the utmost of his power to support this measure. A measure which must not only be approved by every man who has any property or common sense, but which ought to be required by every English subject of an English Administration.

[1] This statement refers to the very unpopular tax on cider passed in 1764

QUESTIONS:

1. Summarize what Jenyns wants the world to know about the issue of taxing the colonies.

2. What were Jenyns's objections to Parliament's taxation policies?

3. Why does Jenyns reject the colonists' position on taxing the colonies?

4. Would Jenyns say that his view supports or takes away colonists' liberty?

5. What ideas in this statement would be the most important for colonists?

23. TAR'D AND FEATHER'D

Beginning in 1765 with colonial opposition to the Stamp Act and continuing through the Revolutionary War, a number of men were "tar'd and feather'd." The statements in this resource describe what was typically done to someone who underwent this punishment. These descriptions reveal that being tarred and feathered was rarely all that was done to the person. Often they were paraded about the town or treated with disrespect in other ways. Although rare, women were also subjected to this treatment. There is no record of the total number of Tories (i.e., Loyalists) or rebels who were treated in this way. Consequently, we cannot accurately estimate the number who were killed because of the tarring and feathering process or the acts subsequent to feathering.

"First strip a person naked, then heat the Tar until it is thin, and pour it upon the naked Flesh, or rub it over with a Tar Brush. . . . After which, sprinkle decently upon the Tar, whilst it is yet warm, as many Feathers as will stick to it. Then hold a lighted Candle to the Feathers, and try to set it all on Fire; if it will burn so much the better. But as the Experiment is often made in cold Weather, it will not then succeed—take also an Halter and put it round the Person's neck, and then cart him the Rounds [meaning around to certain places in the community and put on public display]."

At this point the person was usually taken about the streets of the town in a cart surrounded by shouting people. In some cases he might be placed in the stocks, hanged or beaten. If he survived, he was finally left on his own. Most who got this far were barely alive, exhausted and severely burned. The tar was extremely difficult to get off the badly burned skin, which often got infected. Those that survived could not be helped by anyone. Giving comfort or first aid to a survivor often would result in the helper being attacked.

Tarring and feathering was done not only by people who opposed the Crown and actions of Parliament. For example, in March 1775 Crown troops and Loyalists in Boston tarred and feathered a countryman. *Holt's New York Journal*, March 30, describes the events a reporter witnessed followed by his opinions of what took place:

"After stripping him naked and covering him with tar and feathers, they mounted him on a one-horse truck, and surrounding the truck with a guard of twenty soldiers with fixed bayonets, accompanied with all the drums and fifes of the regiment and a number of officers, negroes, and sailors, exhibited him as a spectacle through the principal streets of the town. They fixed a label on the man's back, on which was written AMERICAN LIBERTY, or A SPECIMEN OF DEMOCRACY; and to add insult they played Yankee Doodle:—Oh Britain, how art thou fallen? Is it not enough that British troops, who were once the terror of France and Spain, should be made the instruments of butchering thy children! But must they descend also to exploits too infamously dirty for any but the meanest of the mobility to practice? What a wretched figure will the Boston expedition hereafter make in the historic page!"

QUESTIONS:

1. What might cause a person or group to tar and feather another human being?

2. What would be the purposes of tarring and feathering another human being?

24. THE LIBERTY SONG

(JOHN DICKINSON, 1768)

This song stresses several of the colonists' causes and encourages others to support the colonists by resisting tyranny and preserving liberty. The words were first published by John Dickinson in 1768. The song was usually sung to the tune of "Hearts of Oak."

Come join hand in hand, brave Americans all,
And rouse your bold hearts at fair Liberty's call;
No tyrannous acts shall suppress your just claim
Nor stain with dishonor America's name.
In freedom we're born and in freedom we'll live;
Our purses are ready, Steady, friends, steady,
Not as slaves but as freemen our money we'll give.
Our worthy forefathers – let's give them a cheer –
To climates unknown did courageously steer;
Through oceans to deserts, for freedom they came,
And, dying, bequeathed us their freedom and fame.
In freedom we're born and in freedom we'll live;
Our purses are ready, Steady, friends, steady,
Not as slaves but as freemen our money we'll give.
How sweet are the labors that freemen endure,
That they shall enjoy all the profit, secure—
No more such sweet labors Americans know
If Britons shall reap what Americans sow.
In freedom we're born and in freedom we'll live;
Our purses are ready, Steady, friends, steady,
Not as slaves but as freemen our money we'll give.

QUESTIONS:

1. What are the main theme and purpose of this song?

2. For what reasons might Dickinson have written this song?

3. What definition might Dickinson have given for liberty?

4. What definition might Dickinson have given for freedom?

257

5. Is this song more about liberty or freedom? Explain your reasons.

6. The song repeatedly uses the phrase "our money we'll give." What might he have meant by this phrase?

7. Did Dickinson think that the colonists were either slaves already or were being enslaved by the king and Parliament? Cite evidence from the text to support your view.

8. What words in this song reveal that Dickinson was proud to be an American?

25. CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PROPRIETY OF IMPOSING TAXES IN THE BRITISH COLONIES

For the Purpose of Raising a Revenue, by Act of Parliament

Daniel Dulany (October 1765)

A lawyer from Maryland, Daniel Dulany agreed with some of the views of Parliament concerning taxation. He opposed the idea that Parliament could levy and collect internal taxes inside the colonies. He did believe that Parliament could levy, enforce and collect external taxes for the benefit of the empire. Eventually he became a Loyalist. Many of the ideas in Dulany's pamphlets were later used by members of Parliament in the debates on colonial policies. He also argued against the view that many leaders of the colonial opposition had about taxation and authority of Parliament to levy taxes. This resource provides a number of ideas that were favored by most members of Parliament.

> I shall undertake to disprove the supposed similarity of situations, whence the same kind of Representation is deduced of the inhabitants of the colonies of the *British* non-electors; and, if I succeed, the Notion of a virtual representation of the colonies must fail, which, in Truth is a mere cob-web, spread to catch the unwary and intangle the weak. I would be understood. I am upon a question of propriety, not of power; and though some may be inclined to think it is to little purpose to discuss the one when the other is irresistible, yet they are different considerations; and, at the same time that I invalidate the claim upon which it is founded, I may very consistently recommend a submission to the law, whilst it endures. . . .
>
> Lessees for years, copyholders, proprietors of the public funds, inhabitants of Birmingham, Leeds, Halifax and Manchester, merchants of the City of London, or members of the corporation of the East India Company, are, *as such*, under no personal incapacity to be electors; for they may acquire the right of election, and there are not only a considerable number of electors in each of the classes of lessees for years etc., but in many of them, in not all, even members of Parliament. The interests therefore of the non-electors, the electors, and the representatives, are individually the same; to say nothing of the connection among neighbours, friends and relations. The security of the non-electors against oppression, is that their oppression will fall also upon the electors and the representatives. The one can't be injured and the other indemnified.
>
> Further if the non-electors should not be taxed by the British Parliament, they would not be taxed at all; and it would be iniquitous, as well as a solecism in the political system, that they should partake of all the benefits resulting from the imposition and application of taxes, and derive an immunity from the circumstances of not being qualified to vote. Under this constitution, then a double or virtual representation may be reasonably supposed. . . .
>
> There is not that intimate and inseparable relation between the electors of Great Britain and the inhabitants of the colonies which inevitably involve both in the same taxation; on the contrary, not a single actual elector in England might be immediately affected by a taxation in America, imposed by a statute which would have a general operation and effect upon the properties of the inhabitants of the colonies . . . wherefore a relation between the British Americans and the English electors is a knot [connection] too infirm to be relied on. . . .
>
> It appears to me that there is a clear and necessary Distinction between an Act imposing a tax for *the single purpose of revenue*, and those Acts which have been made for the regulation of trade, and have produced some revenue in consequence of their effect and operation as regulation of trade.
>
> The colonies claim the privileges of British subjects. It has proved to be inconsistent with those privileges to tax them without their own consent, and it hath been demonstrated that a tax imposed by Parliament is a tax without their consent.
>
> The subordination of the colonies and the authority of Parliament to preserve it, have been fully acknowledged. Not only the welfare, but perhaps the existence of the mother country as an independent kingdom, may rest upon her trade and navigation, and these so far upon her intercourse with the colonies, that if this should be neglected, there would soon be an end to that commerce whence her greatest power is derived and upon which her maritime power is principally founded. From these considerations, the right of the British Parliament to regulate the trade of the colonies, may be justly deduced; a denial of it would contradict the admission of the subordination, and of the authority to preserve it, resulting from the nature of the relation between the mother country and her colonies. It is a common and frequently the most proper method to regulate trade by duties on imports and exports. The authority of the mother country to regulate the trade of the colonies being unquestionable, what regulations are the most proper, are of course submitted to the determination of the Parliament; and if an

incidental revenue should be produced by such regulations, these are not therefore unwarrantable.

A right to impose an internal tax on the colonies without their consent *for the single purpose of revenue* is denied; a right to regulate their trade without their consent is admitted. The imposition of a duty may, in some circumstances, be the proper regulation. If the claims of the mother country and the colonies should seem on such an occasion to interfere and the point of right to be doubtful (which I take to be otherwise) it is easy to guess that the determination will be on the side of power, and the inferior will be constrained to submit.

QUESTIONS:

1. Summarize the main ideas from Dulany's speech.

2. Why would most of the members of Parliament have liked what Dulany had to say? Cite evidence from the text to support your arguments.

3. Define internal tax and external tax.

4. What is Dulany's view of levying and collecting internal taxes in the colonies?

5. What were the colonist's reasons for claiming that Parliament had no right to levy or collect internal taxes?

6. What was Dulany's view of levying and collecting external taxes in the colonies?

7. What were the colonist's reasons for claiming that Parliament could levy or collect internal taxes?

26. LETTER TO LORD BARRINGTON FROM SIR FRANCIS BERNARD, ROYAL GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS

(November 23, 1765)

As royal governor appointed by the king, Sir Francis Bernard enthusiastically followed the views of King George III and Parliament. As one would expect, he stubbornly defended the king's and Parliament's views in private and public places. He was an especially strong supporter of these views in dealing with the General Assembly of the colony. This letter presents some of the views that he believes are correct and reveals some of his opinions about the protesting colonists.

> It is my opinion that all the political evils in America arise from the want of ascertaining the relation between Great Britain and the American Colonies. Hence it is that ideas of that relation are formed in Britain and America, so very repugnant and contradictory to each other. In Britain the American governments are considered as corporations empowered to make by-laws, existing only during the pleasure of parliament, who have never yet done anything to confirm their establishment and hath at any time a power to dissolve them. In America they claim (I mean in publick papers) to be perfect States, no otherwise dependent upon Great Britain than by having the same king, which having compleat legislatures within themselves are no ways subject to that of Great Britain; which in such instances as it has heretofore exercised a legislative power over them has usurped it. It is a difference so very wide who shall determine? . . .
>
> So much is America altered by the late financial acts [of Parliament], that a new system of policy and of a more refined kind than was wanted heretofore, has now become needful. The patchwork government of America will last no longer: the necessity of a parliamentary establishment of a government of America upon fixed constitutional principles is brought on with a precipitation which could not have been foreseen but a year ago, and is become more urgent by the very incidents which make it more difficult. The circumstance of the Americans justifying their obedience by their not being represented points out a method to enforce their obedience upon their own principles. Take them at their word: let them seek representatives at the present time and for the present purposes: 30 for the Continent and 15 for the islands would be sufficient. In this Parliament, the Colonies being actually represented, let the affair of the American governments be canvassed to the bottom; and let a general uniform system of government be formed and established by Act of Parliament, by which the Americans according to their own principles will be bound; and let the relation of America to Great Britain be determined and ascertained by a solemn recognition: so that the rights of the American government and their subordination to that of Great Britain may no longer be a subject of doubt and dispute. When the great work is done, the American representatives may be dismissed and left to attend their own legislatures which will then know the bounds of their own authority.

QUESTIONS:

1. Summarize Sir Bernard's main arguments.

2. Based on what he wrote, what was his attitude toward the colonial legislatures?

3. What were his judgments about the colonists themselves?

4. Royal governors came from the upper classes in British society. What evidence is there that perhaps Bernard was looking down on colonists and belittling them?

5. With the attitudes that Sir Bernard had toward the colonies and colonists, was he likely to have been a well-liked governor in Boston? Why or why not?

27. SPEECH BEFORE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

George Grenville (January 14, 1766)

George Grenville wanted to reform, modernize and improve the administration and protection of the empire. The victory in the French and Indian War in 1763 greatly expanded the empire, especially in North America. The vast western territories over the Appalachian Mountains and around the Great Lakes needed to be secure against Indian attacks. Since the British troops began withdrawing from the thirteen colonies, the colonists complained about their lack of armed protection in case of Indian uprisings. Furthermore, Grenville and nearly all members of Parliament were concerned about the lack of enforcement of British laws in the area of colonial trade. Smuggling goods and paying off royal officials to overlook the laws were very common. These actions cost the empire a great deal of money. At the same time, all members of Parliament were concerned about making reforms and collecting revenues without violating the civil rights and liberty of the colonists. Preserving the rights of English citizens was foremost in the minds and intentions of Parliament in 1763 and on into 1766, the year of this speech.

In January 1766, Grenville investigated the colonists' verbal and behavioral opposition to the Stamp Act and the royal officials' efforts in the colonies to enforce it. He was upset that the colonists' representatives had been given almost a year before the Stamp Act was passed to propose changes to it and to suggest alternative ways of collecting revenues for the defense of the colonies. Moreover, he was disturbed that the colonists did not know that their representatives had the right to appeal on their behalf. In addition, he was angry because the colonists challenged Parliament's authority over the colonies, including the right to collect revenues from them.

. . . [Lord Grenville] began with censuring the ministry very severely, for delaying to give earlier notice to parliament of the disturbances in America. He said they began in July, and now we are in the middle of January; lately they were only occurrences; they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults, and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrine I have heard this day be confirmed, I fear they will lose that name, to take that of a revolution. The government over them being dissolved, a revolution will take place in America. I cannot understand the difference between external and internal taxes. They are the same in effect, and differ only in name. That this kingdom [Parliament] has sovereign, the supreme legislative power over America, is granted. It cannot be denied; and taxation is a part of that sovereign power. It is one branch of the legislation. It is, it has been exercised, over those who are not, who were never represented. It is exercised over the India Company, the merchants of London, and the proprietors of the stocks, and over great manufacturing towns. It was exercised over the country palatine of Chester, and the bishoprick of Durham, before they sent any representatives to parliament . . .

Which being done, he said: When I proposed to tax America, I asked the house, if any gentleman would object to the right; I repeatedly asked it, and no man would attempt to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America, America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to ask it. That protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them this protection; and now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expence, an expence arising from themselves, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, in open rebellion.

The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to factions in this house. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purposes of opposition.

We were told we trod on tender ground; we were bid to expect disobedience. What was this, but telling the Americans to stand out against the law, to encourage their obstinacy with expectation of support from hence? Let us only hold out a little, they would say, our friends will soon be in power. Ungrateful people of America! Bounties have been extended to them. When I had the honour of serving the Crown, while you yourselves were loaded with an enormous debt, you have given bounties on their lumber, on their iron, their hemp, and many other articles. You have relaxed, in their favour, the act of navigation, that palladium of British commerce; and yet I have been abused in all the public papers as an enemy to the trade of America. I have been particularly charged with giving orders and instructions to prevent the Spanish trade, and thereby stopping the channel by which alone North America used to be supplied with cash for remittances for this country. I defy any man to produce any such orders or instructions. I discourage no trade but what was illicit, what was prohibited by act of parliament. . . . I offered to do every thing in my power to advance the trade of America.

QUESTIONS:

1. Grenville begins his speech with news about what was happening in the colonies. How did he describe the situation in colonial America?

2. What details in this speech reveal that Grenville was very surprised by the reactions of the colonists?

3. What words in this speech suggest that Grenville did not accept the colonists' reasons for defying the law?

4. Imagine that you were a member of Parliament at this time and held a position similar to Grenville's. What three actions regarding the colonies would you recommend Parliament to take?

5. Grenville spoke of rebellion and revolution. This was nine years before the opening battle at Lexington and Concord. Does it surprise you to read that an important minister of Parliament feared a revolution so many years before war broke out with the colonies? Why or why not?

28. SPEECH ON AMERICAN TAXATION BEFORE THE HOUSE OF LORDS

LORD CAMDEN (FEBRUARY 24, 1766)

As early as 1765, Lord Camden, member of Parliament, constructed ideas about the role of Parliament and the issue of taxation that were close to those of the protesters in the colonies. These ideas included clarification of the constitutional position of Parliament. His view was very different from that of most members of Parliament and the ministry. In this speech he tries to convince Parliament to change its laws and attitude toward the colonies. He was not successful.

My lords; when I spoke last on this subject, I thought I had delivered my sentiments so fully, and supported them with such reasons, and such authorities, that I apprehended I should be under no necessity of troubling your lordships again. But I am now compelled to rise up, and to beg your farther indulgence: I find that I have been very injuriously treated; have been considered as the broacher of new-fangled doctrines, contrary to the laws of this kingdom, and subversive of the rights of parliament. My lords, this is a heavy charge, but more so when made against one stationed as I am in both capacities, as peer and judge, the defender of the law and the constitution.

When I spoke last, I was indeed replied to, but not answered. In the intermediate time, many things have been said. As I was not present, I must now beg leave to answer such as have come to my knowledge. As the affair is of the utmost importance, and in its consequences may involve the fate of kingdoms, I took the strictest review of my arguments; I re-examined all my authorities; fully determined, if I found myself mistaken, publicly to own my mistake, and give up my opinion: but my searches have more and more convinced me, that the British parliament has no right to tax the Americans. I shall not therefore consider the Declaratory Bill now lying on your table; for to what purpose, but loss of time, to consider the particulars of a Bill, the very existence of which is illegal, absolutely illegal, contrary to the fundamental laws of nature, contrary to the fundamental laws of this constitution?

A constitution grounded on the eternal and immutable laws of nature; a constitution whose foundation and centre is liberty, which sends liberty to every subject, that may happen to be within any part of its ample circumference. Nor my lords, is the doctrine new, it is as old as the constitution; it grew up with it; indeed it is its support; taxation and representation are inseparably, united; God hath joined them, no British parliament can separate them; to endeavour to do it, is to stab our very vitals. Nor is this the first time this doctrine has been mentioned; 70 years ago, my lords, a pamphlet was published, recommending the levying a parliamentary tax on one of the colonies; this pamphlet was answered by two others, then much read; these totally deny the power of taxing the colonies; and why? Because the colonies had no representatives in parliament to give consent; no answer, public or private, was given to these pamphlets, no censure passed upon them; men were not startled at the doctrine as either new or illegal, or derogatory to the rights of parliament. . . .

My position is this—I repeat it—I will maintain it to my last hour, taxation and representation are inseparable, this position is founded on the laws of nature; it is more, it is itself an eternal law of nature; for whatever is a man's own, is absolutely his own; no man hath a right to take it from him without his consent, either expressed by himself or representative; whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery; he throws down and destroys the distinction between liberty and slavery. Taxation and representation are coeval with and essential to this constitution. I wish the maxim of Machiavelli was followed, that of examining a constitution, at certain periods, according to its first principles; this would correct abuses and supply defects. I wish the times would bear it, and that men's minds were cool enough to enter upon such a task, and that the representative authority of this kingdom was more equally settled. I am sure some histories, of late published, have done great mischief; to endeavour to fix the area when the House of Commons began in this kingdom, is a most pernicious and destructive attempt; to fix it in an Edward's or Henry's reign, is owning to the idle dreams of some whimsical, ill-judging antiquarians: but my lords, this is a point too important to be left to such wrong-headed people. When did the House of Commons first begin? when, my lords? it began with the constitution, it grew up with the constitution; there is not a blade of grass growing in the most obscure corner of this kingdom, which is not, which was not ever, represented since the constitution began; there is not a blade of grass, which when taxed, was not taxed by the consent of the proprietor. There is a history written by one Carte, a history that most people now see through, and there is another favourite history, much read and admired. I will not name the author, your lordships must know whom I mean, and you must know from whence he pilfered his notions, concerning the first beginning of the House of Commons.

My lords, I challenge any one to point out the time when any tax was laid upon any person by parliament, that person being unrepresented in parliament. My lords, the parliament laid a tax upon the palatinate of Chester, and ordered commissioners to collect it there: as commissioners were ordered to collect it in other countries; but the palatinate refused to comply; they addressed the king by petition, setting forth, that the English parliament had no right to tax them, that they had a parliament of their own, that they had always taxed themselves, and therefore desired the king to order his commissioners not to proceed. My lords, the king received the petition; he did not declare them either seditious or rebellious, but allowed their plea, and they taxed themselves. Your lordships may see both the petition and the king's answer in the records in the Tower. The clergy taxed themselves; when the parliament attempted to tax them, they stoutly refused; said they were not represented there; that they had a parliament of their own, which represented the clergy; that they would tax themselves; they did so. Much stress has been laid upon Wales, before it was united as it now is, as if the king, standing in the place of their former princes of that country, raised money by his own authority; but the real fact is otherwise; for I find that, long before Wales was subdued, the northern countries of that principality had representatives, and a parliament or assembly. As to Ireland, my lords, before that kingdom had a parliament as it now has, if your lordships will examine the old records, you will find, that when a tax was to be laid on that country, the Irish sent over here representatives; and the same records will inform your lordships, what wages those representatives received from their constituents. In short, my lords, from the whole of our history, from the earliest period, you will find that taxation and representation were always united; so true are the words of that consummate reasoner and politician Mr. Locke. I before alluded to his book; I have again consulted him; and finding what he writes so applicable to the subject in hand, and so much in favour of my sentiments, I beg your lordships' leave to read a little of this book.

"The supreme power cannot take from any man, any part of his property, without his own consent." Such are the words of this great man, and which are well worth your serious attention. His principles are drawn from the heart of our constitution, which he thoroughly understood, and will last as long as that shall last; and, to his immortal honour, I know not to what, under providence, the Revolution and all its happy effects, are more owing, than to the principles of government laid down by Mr. Locke. For these reasons, my lords, I can never give my assent to any bill for taxing the American colonies, while they remain unrepresented; for as to the distinction of virtual representation, it is so absurd as not to deserve an answer; I therefore pass it over with contempt.

The forefathers of the Americans did not leave their native country, and subject themselves to every danger and distress, to be reduced to a state of slavery: they did not give up their rights; they looked for protection, and not for chains, from their mother country; by her they expected to be defended in the possession of their property, and not to be deprived of it: for, should the present power continue, there is nothing which they can call their own; or, to use the words of Mr. Locke, "What property have they in that, which another may, by right, take, when he pleases, to himself?"

QUESTIONS:

1. Based on this speech, was Lord Camden friendly or unfriendly to the views of the protesting colonists? Explain your reasoning.

2. What definition would Lord Camden likely give for the word liberty?

3. What was he trying to convince Parliament to do? What were his motives?

4. What are the two things he claims Lord Camden is defending?

5. Summarize his views on the issue of taxing the colonies.

29. EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS OF THE "BOSTON MASSACRE"

This resource includes four accounts of what took place in Boston at approximately 9:00 p.m. on March 5, 1770. Over an hour beforehand, a crowd started to gather around the lone guard standing watch near the Customs House. Several in the crowd started harassing him, provoking him to strike them. They cursed, insulted, crowded and threatened him, and they even started throwing things at him. Feeling he was in danger, he called for more guards. Quickly nine regulars along with Captain Thomas Preston, the officer of the day, came to his aid. The insults and curses became louder and more abusive. The crowd threw snowballs and moved about in a way that increased the anxiety of the guards. Suddenly, someone yelled "Fire!" and the regulars fired. Within seconds, three men were dead and eight were wounded. Two of the wounded died within days. There was no evidence that anyone fired at the guards.

ACCOUNT OF GEORGE SANDERLIN DURING THE TRIAL

On hearing the noise [of a fight], Samuel Atwood came up to see what was the matter, and entering the alley heard the latter part of the combat, and when the boys [who had been fighting] had dispersed he met the ten or twelve soldiers [who had been fighting with them] rushing down the alley toward the square, and asked them if they intended to murder people? They answered "Yes, by God," [and struck and wounded Atwood].

Immediately after, those heroes [the British officers] appeared in the square, asking "where were the cowards?" One of them advanced toward a youth who had a stave in his hand. But the young man, seeing a person near him with a drawn sword, held up his stave in defiance, and they quietly passed by him up the little alley to Kingstreet, where they attacked single and unarmed persons till they raised much clamor.

Thirty or forty persons, mostly lads, being by this means gathered in Kingstreet, Capt. Preston, with a party of men with charged bayonets, came from the main guard to the Commissioner's House, the soldiers pushing their bayonets, crying, "Make way!" They took place by the Custom House, and continuing to push to drive the people off, pricked some in several places; on which they were clamorous, and, it is said, threw snow-balls.

On this, the Captain commanded then to fire, and more snow-balls coming, he again said, "Damn you, Fire, be the consequences what it will!" One soldier then fired, and a townsman with a cudgel struck him over the hands with such force that he dropt his firelock; and rushing forward aimed a blow at the Captain's head, which grazed his hat and fell pretty heavy on his arm. However, the soldiers continued to fire, successively, till seven or eight or, as some say, eleven guns were discharged.

By this fatal manoeuvre, three men were laid dead on the spot, and two more struggling for life.

ACCOUNT OF ANDREW, AN ENSLAVED BLACK, DURING THE TRIAL

The people had sticks. And as the soldiers were pushing with their guns, they stuck their guns. . . .

One of these people, a stout man with a long cordwood stick, threw himself in, and made a blow at the officer. . . . The stout man then turned round and struck the soldier's gun. He knocked his [the soldier's] gun away and struck him over the head [with his stick].

The stout man cried, "Kill the dogs. Knock them over."

This was the general cry. The people then crowded in. . . .

I turned to go, when I heard the word "fire." I thought I heard the report of a gun. I then saw the soldier swing his gun and fire it. . . . I thought and still think it was Crispus Attuk who was shot.

ACCOUNT OF CAPTAIN PRESTON DURING THE TRIAL

On Monday night townspeople broke into two meeting houses and rang the alarm bells, which I supposed was for fire, but was informed that the town inhabitants were assembling to attack the troops, and that the bells were ringing as the signal for that purpose.

I went to the Main Guard. On my way there I saw the people in great commotion, and heard them use the most cruel threats against the troops. After I reached the guard, about one hundred people passed it and went towards the custom house where the king's money is lodged. They immediately surrounded the sentry posted there.

I sent an officer and twelve men to protect both the sentry and the king's money, and very soon followed myself. The mob increased and were striking their clubs one against another, and calling out: "Come on you rascals, you lobster scoundrels, fire if you dare!"

At this time I was between the soldiers and the mob, endevouring to persuade them to retire peaceably, but to no purpose. They advanced to the points of the bayonets, struck some of them and even the muzzles of the guns. Some well-behaved persons asked me if the guns were charged [loaded]. I replied "yes." They then asked me if I intended to order the men to fire. I answered "no." While I was thus speaking, one of the soldiers having received a severe blow with a stick, stepped a little to one side and instantly fired, on which asking him why he fired without orders, I was struck with a club on my arm, which for some time deprived me of the use of it.

On this a general attack was made on the men by a great number of heavy clubs and snow-balls being thrown at them. Instantly three or four of the soldiers fired, and directly after three more in the same confusion. The mob then ran away, except three unhappy men who instantly expired. One more since is dead.

On my asking the soldiers why they fired without orders, they said they heard the word "fire" and supposed it came from me. This might be the case as many of the mob called out "fire, fire!"

ACCOUNT OF JOHN TUDOR, JUSTICE OF THE PEACE, BOSTON, WITNESS TO THE EVENTS THAT EVENING

On Monday evening, the 5th [of March], a few minutes after nine o'clock, a most horrid murder was committed in King Street before the customs house door by eight or nine soldiers under the command of Captain Thomas Preston . . .

This unhappy affair began by some boys and young fellows throwing snowballs at the sentry placed at the customs house door. On which eight or nine soldiers came to his assistance. Soon after a number of people collected, when the captain commanded the soldiers to fire, which they did, and three men were killed on the spot and several mortally wounded, one of which died the next morning. [A fifth man died several days later.] The captain soon drew off his soldiers . . . or the consequences might have been terrible, for on the guns firing the people were alarmed and set the bells a-ringing as if for fire, which drew multitudes to the place of action.

Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson, who was commander-in-chief, was sent for and came to the council chamber. . . . The governor [asked] the multitude about ten o'clock to separate and go home peaceable, and he would do all in his power that justice should be done, etc. . . . But the people insisted that the soldiers should be ordered to their barracks first before they would separate. Which being done, the people separated about one o'clock. Captain Preston was taken up by a warrant. . . . and we sent him to jail soon after three, having evidence sufficient to commit him, on his ordering his soldiers to fire. So about four o'clock the town became quiet.

ADDRESS TO THE JURORS BY JOHN ADAMS, ATTORNEY FOR THE SOLDIERS

We talk much of Liberty and property. But if we cut up the law of self-defense, we cut away the foundation of both. Place yourself in the situation of the . . . sentry. . . . The people are crying [out], Kill them! Kill them! Knock them [the soldiers] down!—heaving snowballs, oyster shells, clubs, white birch sticks three and a half inches in diameter. . . . Consider yourselves in this situation and then judge if a reasonable man would not consider they were going to kill him.

QUESTIONS:

1. What specific facts do these four accounts have in common?

2. On what specific facts do these accounts most disagree?

3. Which of these four witnesses would be the most believable? Explain your choice.

4. From your data and view, what was the cause of the Boston Massacre?

5. What is the definition of a massacre?

6. What evidence is there that a massacre took place that night?

7. What point of view did John Adams want the jurors to take?

8. John Adams was one of the major colonial leaders who opposed Parliament's acts. Why might he have agreed to defend these particular soldiers?

30. POEM WRITTEN AFTER THE "BOSTON MASSACRE"

(AUTHOR UNKNOWN, OCTOBER 1770)

During the revolutionary era, many people used songs and poems to express their thoughts and feelings. This poem expresses the narrator's thoughts about the men charged in the deaths of the innocents. It also provides a unique view of the events of the evening of March 5, 1770.

Seven Long Months has faded quite away
Since INNOCENCE itself became prey
to Bloody men.
Was it my Eyes deceiv'd me? did I dream
Or did I Clearly see through every scene,
Bloody Trickling Down?
Doth not the Stings of Conscience prick the sore,
In laying Harmless Youths in Bloody Gore
Ye Murderers all.
But now at length your trials they draw near.
Can you expect GOD'S righteous Laws to clear [you]
In doing this?
Impartial trials we do hope to see
And may no Bribes be Giv'n to set you free
from Rightful Laws.

QUESTIONS:

1. Given the words above, if the narrator were on the jury, what decision would he/she likely have made regarding the guilt or innocence of the guards?

2. What reasons do you have for your decision of guilt or innocence?

3. What words would suggest the narrator would like to see a fair trial?

4. What is the major theme of this poem?

5. What evidence is there that the people who were crowding the streets that evening were innocent?

31. SPEECH TO THE MASSACHUSETTS ASSEMBLY

Thomas Hutchinson, Royal Governor of Massachusetts (January 6, 1773)

Royal governors tended to be intensely loyal to Britain, the British system, Parliament, and the monarch. In part this was because they were appointed by the Crown. But that would not have mattered to most. They were men who wanted to serve their country and were dedicated to the system that made the British the freest people in the world. No people enjoyed more liberty and civil rights than the British. These men believed that it was the English system of government and the authority of Parliament that brought all these benefits to the citizens. They also believed that following the law was one's duty so that liberty, freedom and civil rights would be protected rather than restricted. In this speech, Thomas Hutchinson made it very clear what his view was on a number of issues that had been raised during the protests. One should not be surprised with his obvious support of the British system of government on behalf of liberty. Should not a governor to be just as loyal and devoted to his/her nation and what it stands for as Hutchinson was for the way of life he was sworn to protect and preserve? In every age we look for political and government leaders who are intensely loyal to their nation and its way of life. Hutchinson was well aware of the rights and freedoms British citizens enjoyed even in the colonies.

When our predecessors first took possession of this plantation or colony, under a grant and charter from the Crown of England, it was their sense and it was the sense of the kingdom, that they were to remain subject to the supreme authority of Parliament. This appears from the charter itself and from other irresistible evidence. . . .

So much, however, of the spirit of liberty breathes through all parts of the English Constitution, that although from the nature of government, there must be one supreme authority over the whole, yet this constitution will admit of subordinate powers with Legislative and Executive authority, greater or less according to local and other circumstances. Thus we see a variety of corporations formed within this kingdom, with powers to make and execute such bylaws as are for their immediate use and benefit, the members of such corporations still remaining subject to the general laws of the kingdom. We see also governments established in the plantations, which, from their separate and remote situation require more general and extensive powers of legislation within themselves, than those formed within the kingdom, but subject, nevertheless, to all such laws of the kingdom as immediately respect them, or are designed to extend to them; and accordingly, we, in this province have, from the first settlement of it, been left to the exercise of our Legislative and Executive powers, Parliament, occasionally, though rarely, interposing, as its wisdom has been judged necessary. . . .

I know of no line that can be drawn between the supreme authority of Parliament and the total independence of the colonies: it is impossible there should be two independent Legislatures in one and the same state; for although there may be one head, the king, yet the two legislative bodies will make two governments as distinct as the kingdoms of England and Scotland before the Union.

QUESTIONS:

1. Summarize the main ideas of Hutchinson's speech.

2. What group in the British Empire does Hutchinson believe is responsible for the liberty that all British citizens enjoy?

3. What does Hutchinson say should be the relationship between Parliament and the colonial legislatures?

4. What does Hutchinson say is impossible to have within the same nation or empire?

5. What does Hutchinson say about Parliament's past decisions concerning legislative and executive decisions made in the colonies?

6. What person or group would Hutchinson think is the highest legal authority in the empire?

7. Define patriot.

8. Using your definition, would Hutchinson be a patriot? Why or why not?

32. THE "TEA NEVER SHOULD BE LANDED"

(BROADSIDE: BOSTON - DEC. 2, 1773)

A broadside was a single printed sheet of any size which contained a text and often drawings. Broadsides were a way of informing people about an event, person or idea. They rarely advertised items for sale. Rather, they publicized someone's idea on a topic or announced an event or message. Today, broadsides have been replaced by posters, billboards or message boards. But in colonial times they were powerful tools for informing an large audience. Besides word of mouth, broadsides were the quickest and easiest way to inform and even rally people. This resource is one broadside about the dumping of tea in Boston Harbor.

> Whereas it has been reported that a Permit will be given by the Custom House for Landing the Tea now on Board a Vessel laying in this Harbour, commanded by Capt. Hall: THIS is to Remind the Publick that it was solemnly voted by the Body of the People of this and the neighboring Towns assembled at the Old-South Meeting House on Tuesday the 30th Day of November, that the said Tea never should be landed in this Province, or pay one Farthing of Duty: And as the aiding or assisting in procuring or granting any such Permit for landing the said Tea ... must betray an inhuman thirst for Blood, and will also in great Measure accelerate confusion and Civil War: This is to assure such public Enemies of this Country; that they will be considered and treated as Wretches unworthy to live and will be made the first Victims of our just Resentment.
>
> *The People*

QUESTIONS:

1. What is the definition of a broadside?

2. In colonial America and in England, what would be at least three purposes of posting broadsides?

3. What is the major message this broadside is trying to get out to the people?

4. What actions by the public does this broadside desire?

5. What individuals or groups would "The People" view as being "public Enemies of this Country"?

33. EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS OF THE BOSTON TEA PARTY

(December 1773)

There are a number of eyewitness accounts of the Boston Tea Party. Excerpts from three of these accounts are provided here. There is also a quotation representing John Adams's reaction to the event. These excerpts provide many details of what happened and tend to support the accuracy of the accounts given by other eyewitnesses.

> "Our numbers were between 28 and 30. Many . . . were apprentices and journeymen, not a few, as was the case with myself, living with Tory masters. . . . One of the ships laid at the wharf, the others a little way out in the stream. . . . To prevent discovery, we agreed to wear ragged cloths and disfigure ourselves, dressing to resemble Indians as much as possible, smearing our faces with grease and lamp black or soot, and should not have known each other except by our voices. . . . We boarded the ship, . . . and our leaders . . . ordered the captain and crew to open the hatchways. . . ."
>
> *Joshua Wyeth, journeyman blacksmith, age sixteen at time of the event (Wyeth wrote this account from memory when he was a grown man.)*

> ". . . They unlaid the hatches and went down the hold where there was 80 whole and 34 half chests of tea, which they hoisted upon deck and cut the chests to pieces and hove the tea off overboard where it was damaged and lost."
>
> *Alexander Hodgon, mate on the ship Dartmouth*

"It was now evening, and I immediately dressed myself in the costume of an Indian, equipped with a small hatchet . . . and a club, [with which] after having painted my face and hands with coal dust in the shop of a blacksmith, I repaired to Griffin's Wharf, where the ships lay that contained the tea. . . . I fell in with many who were dressed, equipped and painted as I was, and who fell in with me and marched in order to the place of our destination. . . . We then were ordered by our commander to open the hatches and take out all the chests of tea and throw them overboard, and we immediately proceeded to execute his orders, first cutting and splitting the chests with our tomahawks, so as to thoroughly expose them to the effects of the water."

George Hewes, one of the "Mohawks" who participated in the Boston Tea Party

"This is the most significant movement of all. There is a dignity, a majesty, a sublimity, in this last effort of the patriots that I greatly admire. This destruction of the tea is so bold, so daring, so firm, intrepid and inflexible, and it must have so important consequences and so lasting, that I cannot but consider it as an epoch in history."

Diary entry of John Adams upon hearing of the Boston Tea Party

QUESTIONS:

1. What is the most accurate story of the events that night in Boston harbor? Explain your reasoning.

2. What were the three most important reasons the colonists would have given to justify their destruction of the tea?

3. Why is this event known as a "tea party"?

4. Why did the colonists want to destroy this tea if it cost less and had lower tax?

5. Often words about an event influence one's perceptions of the entire event. For instance, we could describe the actions of the colonists as dumping, throwing overboard and destroying the tea. How would you describe what took place that night? Why?

6. What words or phrases in these accounts reveal that this was a well-planned rather than spontaneous activity?

34. "RALLY MOHAWKS!"

(AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

The poem below is the most popular poem published in Boston shortly after the Boston Tea Party.

"Rally, Mohawks!"

(Author unknown)

Rally, Mohawks! Bring out your axes,

And tell King George we'll pay no taxes

On his foreign tea;

His threats are vain, and vain to think

To force our girls and wives to drink

His vile Bohea![1]

Then rally boys, and hasten on

To meet our chiefs at the Green Dragon.

Our Warren's there and bold Revere,

With hands to do and words to cheer

For liberty and laws.

Our country's 'braves' and firm defenders

Shall ne'er be left by true North-Enders,

Fighting Freedom's cause!

Then rally boys, and hasten on

To meet our chiefs at the Green Dragon.[2]

---

[1] This is the name of one of the most popular teas of the period.

[2] The Green Dragon was a popular meeting place for colonists who opposed the actions of Parliament and supported the resisters' ideas of liberty.

QUESTIONS:

1. What is the major theme of this poem?

2. Why do we call this event a party?

3. Why would a poem about the Boston Tea Party mention Mohawk Indians?

4. Describe the intentions of the colonists who participated in this event.

5. From the information in this poem, what words or phrases reveal that this was a well-planned activity?

6. According to this poem, what are the names of two of the men who participated in the tea party?

7. What new information does this text provide?

35. A PUBLIC EXECUTION BY THE SONS OF LIBERTY

The Sons of Liberty in all the colonies participated in a number of activities. Their major purpose was to work cooperatively to make sure that their rights, as they perceived them, were being protected against those who they believed threatened them. The execution described here in Farmington, Connecticut, took place on or about May 19, 1774. Such actions were not unusual for these men.

Early in the morning was found the following handbill, posted up in various parts of the town, viz:

To pass through the fire at six o'clock this evening, in honour to the immortal goddess of Liberty, the late infamous [Boston Port] Act of the British Parliament for farther distressing the American Colonies; the place of execution [of this act] will be the public parade, where all Sons of Liberty are desired to attend.

Accordingly, a very numerous and respectable body [of people] were assembled of near one thousand people, when a huge pole, just fourty-five feet high, was erected and consecrated to the shrine of liberty; after which the Act of Parliament for blocking up the Boston harbor was read aloud, sentenced to the flames and executed by the hands of the common hangman; then the following resolves were passed nem. con. [nemine contradicente, unanimous]:

1st. That it is with the greatest dignity, interest and happiness of every American to be united with our parent State, while our liberties are duly secured, maintained and supported by our rightful Sovereign, whose person we greatly revere; whose government, while duly administered, we are ready with our lives and properties to support.

2d. That the present ministry, being instigated by the devil and led on by their wicked and corrupt hearts, have a design to take away our liberties and properties and to enslave us forever.

3d. That the late Act which their malice hath caused to be passed in Parliament, for blocking up the port of Boston, is unjust, illegal and oppressive; and that we and every American are sharers in the insults offered to the town of Boston.

4th. That those pimps and parasites who dared to advise their master to such detestable measures be held in utter abhorrence by us and every American, and their names loaded with the curses of all succeeding generations.

5th. That we scorn the chains of slavery; we despise every attempt to rivet them upon us; we are the sons of freedom and resolved that, till time shall be no more, godlike virtue shall blazon our hemisphere.

QUESTIONS:

1. Define execution.

2. Given this definition and the details of the above story, did an execution take place?

3. What would be the purposes of executing an Act of Parliament in the manner described above?

4. What might the leaders of this event have hoped to accomplish by this execution?

5. What words did these Sons of Liberty use to describe the people whom they opposed?

6. Given the information in these resolves, if the Sons did not do something, what did they fear would happen to them?

36. EXCERPTS FROM THE QUEBEC ACT

(JUNE 22, 1774)

At the time when the Americans in the thirteen colonies were very concerned about a conspiracy of Parliament and the king to impose their rule on them, King George decided to grant the people in the recently won colony of Quebec the right to practice Catholicism. Already the majority of non-Anglican Christians in the colonies feared the king might establish the Anglican religion as the only official and acceptable religion in the colonies. Most colonists believed that people should be free to practice their own religion. But the king's concession to the Canadians seemed a possible first step to impose Catholicism, if not Anglicanism, on all the colonists of North America. Both religions were controlled by a strong ruler—Catholicism by a pope, Anglicanism by the English monarch. Thus, instead of seeing this act as a means of extending religious freedom and tolerance, the non-Anglican Protestants in the colonies saw this act as a first and major step in the opposite direction.

An Act for making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec in North America

WHEREAS His Majesty, by his Royal Proclamation bearing date the seventh day of October in the third year of his reign, thought fit to declare the provisions which had been made in respect to certain countries, territories and islands in America, ceded to His Majesty by the definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris on the tenth day of February 1763: And whereas by the arrangements made by the said Royal Proclamation, a very large extent of country, within which there were several colonies and settlements of the subjects of France, who claimed to remain therein under the faith of the said Treaty, was left without any provision being made for the administration of the civil government therein , . . . be it enacted . . .

That all the territories, islands and countries in North America belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, bounded on the South by a line from the Bay of Chaleurs, along the high lands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the river Saint Lawrence from those which fall into the sea, to a point in forty-five degrees of northern latitude, on the eastern bank of the river Connecticut, keeping the same latitude directly west, through the lake Champlain, until, in the same latitude, it meets the river Saint Lawrence; from thence up the eastern bank of the said river to the Lake Ontario; thence through the Lake Ontario, and the river commonly called Niagara; and thence along by the eastern and southeastern bank of Lake Erie, following the said bank, until the same be intersected by the northern boundary granted by the charter of the Province of Pennsylvania, in case the same shall be intersected; and from thence along the said northern and western boundaries of the said Province, until the said western boundary strike the Ohio [River]; . . . and along the bank of the said river, westward to the banks of the Mississippi, and northward to the southern boundary of the territory granted to the Merchants Adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay; . . . are hereby, during His Majesty's pleasure, annexed to and made part and parcel of the Province of Quebec. . . .

[It is] Provided always, that nothing herein contained relative to the boundary of the Province of Quebec shall in any wise affect the boundaries of any other Colony.

. . .

And . . . it is hereby declared, that His Majesty's subjects professing the religion of the Church of Rome of and in the said Province of Quebec, may have, hold and enjoy the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the king's Supremacy. . . . [And it is further declared] that the clergy of the said Church may hold, receive and enjoy their accustomed dues and rights, with respect to such persons only as shall profess the said religion.

QUESTIONS:

1. What were the main purposes of the Quebec Act?

2. What provisions did this act make for the Roman Catholics who lived in this territory?

3. Does this act extend religious freedom and liberties to the Roman Catholics in the territory of Quebec?

4. Protestants by far made up the largest majority of the population in the thirteen colonies. The Protestants did not trust the Catholics. Why were Protestants in the thirteen colonies upset by this act?

37. CONSIDERATIONS ON THE AUTHORITY OF PARLIAMENT

James Wilson (August 1774)

This resource consists of excerpts from a pamphlet written by James Wilson of Philadelphia. The pamphlet is the first published statement that clearly outlines and defends the colonial position concerning Parliament and the British Constitution. Wilson claimed that the colonies were linked to Britain only by their allegiance to the king. Because of this bond, Parliament was outside the constitutional concerns of the colonies. Therefore, according to Wilson, Parliament was not a government body that had authority over the colonies or the colonial governments.

"But from what source does this mighty, this uncontrolled authority of the House of Commons flow? from the collective body of the commons of Great Britain. This authority must therefore, originally reside in them; for whatever they convey to their representatives must ultimately be in themselves. And have those, whom we have hitherto been accustomed to consider as our fellow-subjects, an absolute and unlimited power over us? Have they a natural right to make laws, by which we may be deprived of our properties, of our liberties, of our lives? By what title do they claim to be our masters? What act of ours has rendered us subject to those, to whom we were formerly equal? Is British freedom denominated from the soil or from the people of Britain? If from the latter, do they lose it by quitting the soil? Do those who embark freemen in Great Britain, disembark slaves in America?

"If . . . by a dependence of the colonies on Great Britain, it is meant that they are obliged to obey the laws of Great Britain, reason, as well as the unanimous voice of the Americans, teaches us to disown it. . . There is another and much more reasonable meaning, which may be intended by the dependence of the colonies on Great Britain. The phrase may be used to denote the obedience and loyalty which the colonists owe to the kings of Great Britain. . . . It is a dependence which they have acknowledged hitherto; which they acknowledge now; and, which if it is reasonable to judge of the future by the past and the present, they will continue to acknowledge hereafter."

QUESTIONS:

1. What is the major theme of this excerpt from James Wilson's speech?

2. What definition might Wilson have given for authority?

3. What did Wilson probably mean by the "authority of the House of Commons"?

4. What does he say was Parliament's source of the authority to govern the colonies?

5. During this period in history, many people defined tyranny as "arbitrary authority" or "arbitrary use of power." What words in this pamphlet suggest that Wilson believes Parliament is acting like a tyrant?

6. Which of Wilson's ideas would the protesting colonists most likely support?

7. Which of his ideas would members of Parliament most likely oppose?

8. If Wilson's position is accepted by Parliament, what would be the permanent relationship between Parliament and the colonies?

38. A SONG IN SUPPORT OF AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO THE CROWN

Thousands of songs and poems were written during the revolutionary era, many to tunes or rhymes well known at the time. The words in this resource were first sung during 1774 when the regulars occupied Boston after the port was officially closed to all trade. The Crown forces were punishing Bostonians for participating in the Boston Tea Party and trying to persuade them to obey the Acts of Parliament. It was written when Boston was trying to convince other colonies to join Massachusetts against the King and Parliament. Joseph Warren, a highly respected citizen of Boston, is the probable author of this particular song. He died in June 1775 during the Battle of Breed's Hill.

That seat of science, Athens
and earth's proud mistress Rome,
Where now are all their glories?
We scarce can find a tomb.
Then guard your rights Americans,
nor stoop to lawless sway.
Oppose, oppose, oppose, oppose
for North America!
We led fair Freedom hither,
And lo, the desert smiled!
A paradise of pleasure
Was opened in the wild!
Your harvest, bold Americans,
No power shall snatch away!
Huzza, huzza, huzza, huzza,
For free America.
Torn from a world of tyrants,
Beneath this Western sky,
We formed a new dominion
A land of liberty:
The world shall own we're masters here;
Then hasten on the day:
Huzza, huzza, huzza, huzza,
For free America.
Lift up your hands, ye heroes,
And swear with proud disdain,
The wretch that would ensnare you
Shall lay his snares in vain:
Should Europe empty all her force,
We'll meet her in array,
And fight and shout, and shout and fight
For North America.
Some future day shall crown us
The masters of the main,
Our fleets shall speak in thunder
To England, France and Spain;
And the nations over the ocean spread
Shall tremble and obey
The sons, the sons, the sons, the sons
Of brave America.
(Sung to the tune of "The British Grenadiers.")

QUESTIONS:

1. Summarize the main theme of the poem.

2. What are at least ten words that are used in the poem to express this message?

3. What does the narrator suggest might be the consequences of Americans not opposing England?

4. If Americans are to avoid these consequences, what actions must they take?

5. According to this poem, what would be the best and the worst actions for the colonists to take?

6. Is the narrator's outlook for America favorable or unfavorable? Cite evidence from the text to support your position.

7. Why would this be a popular song among the protesting colonists?

39. IN MEMORY OF WILLIAM FRENCH

This resource contains a newspaper account of a two-day riot in New York along with an epitaph written on the slate tombstone of William French, killed during the Westminster Massacre on March 13, 1775. People opposed to the official royal government seized control of the courthouse and obstructed justice and law enforcement officials from doing their jobs. Finally, government officials restored law and order. William French, one of the rioters, was the only person killed. The next day, March 14, an estimated 500 colonists again used arms, violence and unlawful actions to shut down government business. They seized the courthouse and imprisoned any officials and Loyalists whom they found. Many of the prisoners were threatened with severe harm or were injured by the band of ruffians.

In Memory of WILLIAM FRENCH.

Son to Mr. Nathaniel French, who

Was Shot at Westminster, March ye 13th,

1775, by the hands of Cruel Ministereal tools,

of Georg ye 3rd, in the corthouse at a 11 o'Clock

at Night in the 22nd year of his Age.

HERE WILLIAM FRENCH his Body lies,

For Murder his Blood for Vengance cries.

King Georg the third his Tory crew

that with a bawl his head Shot threw.

For Liberty and his Country's Good,

he Lost his Life his Dearest Blood.

QUESTIONS:

1. According to the newspaper account, would massacre or riot be the more accurate label for what happened? Explain your choice by citing evidence from the text.

2. What specific details does the epitaph reveal about William French's death?

3. Why was William French in the courthouse at 11:00 p.m. on March 13?

4. According to the epitaph, why did William French die?

5. According to the epitaph, who killed William French?

298

40. THE "GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH" SPEECH

PATRICK HENRY (MARCH 23, 1775)

The "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death" Speech by Patrick Henry (March 23, 1775) Patrick Henry's speech, or at least a few lines of it, is among the most famous in American history. Whether or not he actually said the words, "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death," or any other statements in his speech, is unknown. This speech was given in Richmond, not Williamsburg, Virginia. In those days there were no transcribers who took down every word a person spoke. Often people in the audience, such as an interested observer, friend or member of the assembly, would take down notes of speeches. These notes often left out details or rephrased actual statements.

"No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the house. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen, if entertaining, as I do, opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely, and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony. The question before the house is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery. And in proportion to the magnitude of the subject, ought to be the freedom or debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth and fulfill the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offense, I should consider myself guilty of treason toward my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the majesty of Heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

Mr. President, it is natural for man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth—and listen to the song of that syren till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and, having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it might cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the house? Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled that force must be called in to win back our love?

Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation—the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us: they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? what terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer.

Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned—we have remonstrated—we have supplicated—we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us sir, that we are weak—unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of Hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were based enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is not retreat, but in submission and slavery! The war is inevitable—and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come!

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, peace, peace—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!"

QUESTIONS:

1. What are the primary theme and mood of this speech?

2. What are the five main points in Patrick Henry's speech?

3. What did Patrick Henry say was Britain's purpose for sending a large army and navy to the colonies?

4. Why did Patrick Henry want a war?

5. What is a rhetorical question? Cite several examples from this speech. Why does Patrick Henry use them?

6. What other statements in this speech would support Henry's position that he wanted either liberty or death?

7. Explain the significance of this speech. Why does it hold such an important place in American history?

41. ORDERS BY GENERAL THOMAS GAGE TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL SMITH TO SEIZE AND DESTROY THE MUNITIONS AT CONCORD

April 18, 1775

On April 14, General Thomas Gage alerted his officers that he was concerned about the build-up of munitions at Concord, a city about fifteen miles from Boston. He knew that the rebels had an early warning system using riders on horseback. He informed his officers that in a few days he would probably have to send regulars out to seize these materiels. He proposed two routes and sent out more cavalry to stop or reduce the number of riders who might warn the people in Concord. Then, in the early evening of April 18, Gage decided that the regulars should leave that night so that they would be less noticeable and arrive at dawn in Concord.

Lieut. Col. Smith, 10th Regiment Foot

Sir,

Having received intelligence that a quantity of ammunition, provision, artillery, tents and small arms have been collected at Concord for the avowed purpose of raising and supporting a rebellion against His Majesty, you will march with the corps of Grenadiers and Light Infantry, put under your command, with the utmost expedition and secrecy to Concord, where you will seize and destroy all the artillery, ammunition, provisions, tents, small arms and all military stores whatever. But you will take care that the soldiers do not plunder the inhabitants or hurt private property.

The powder and flour must be shook out of the barrels into the river, the tents burnt, pork or beef destroyed in the best way you can devise. . . .

A small party on horseback is ordered out [before you leave in order] to stop all advice of your march getting to Concord before you. You will . . . return with the troops as soon as possible. I am Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
Thos. Gage

QUESTIONS:

1. What is the purpose of this military action?

2. What does General Gage say that the soldiers must not do?

3. Why does Gage send out men on horseback before the regulars leave for Concord?

4. According to his informers, why are munitions stored in Concord?

42. WHAT HAPPENED ON THE EVENING OF APRIL 18 AND EARLY MORNING OF APRIL 19, 1775?

(BY PAUL REVERE)

The ride of Paul Revere on the evening of April 18 and the early morning of April 19, 1775, is one of the most famous of this era. The statement below is his account of the events. Other sources provide more details. We do know that he did not shout, "The British are coming!" This would have made no sense because he and the colonists were themselves British. What he did in fact yell was, "The regulars are coming!" Those words were enough to wake up the entire countryside and motivate men, boys and some women to arms.

The ride of Paul Revere on the evening of April 18 and early morning of April 19, 1775 is one of the most famous of all the stories of this Era. The statement below is his account of what happened on his ride. The details here are far less in number than that often provided. One thing we know, he did not go through the countryside shouting "The British are coming!!!" as that would have made no sense. At that time he and all the colonists in Massachusetts were British. He would have yelled "The Regulars are coming!!!!" Those words were enough to wake up the entire countryside and motive men, boys and even some women to arms - and to possible death.

> I was sent for by Docr. Joseph Warren . . . on the evening of the 18th of April, about 10 o'Clock; When he desired me, "to go to Lexington, and inform Mr. Samuel Adams, and the Honl. John Hancock Esqr. that there was a number of [Regular] Soldiers . . . marching to the bottom of the Common, where was a number of Boats to receive them; it was supposed, that they were going to Lexington by the way of Cambridge River, to take [Adams and Hancock] or go to Concord, to distroy the Colony Stores." I proceeded immediately, and was put across Charles River [in a boat rowed by friends] and landed near Charlestown Battery, went in town, and there got a Horse. . . . I sett off, it was then about 11 o'Clock, the Moon shone bright. I had got almost over Charlestown Common, towards Cambridge, when I saw two Officers on Horse-back . . . in a narrow part of the roade. . . . One of them Started his horse towards me, the other up the road, as I supposed, to head me should I escape the first. I turned my horse short, about, and rid upon a full Gallop for Mistick Road . . . and finding He could not catch me, [he] returned: I proceeded to Lexington . . . and alarmed Mr. Adams and Col. Hancock. After I had been there about half an hour Mr. Daws arrived, who came from Boston, over the Neck; we set off for Concord and were overtaken by a young Gentleman named Prescot, who belonged to Concord, and was going home; when we had got about half way from Lexington to Concord, the other two, stopped at a House to awake the man, I kept along, when, I had got about 200 Yards a head of them, I saw two officers as before . . . in an instant, I saw four of them, who rode up to me, with their pistols in their hands. [They] said . . . "If you go an inch further, you are a dead Man" . . . We attempted to git thro them, but they kept before us and swore if we did not turn into that pasture, they would blow our brains out.

Faced with being shot, the three men slowed down and turned into a field. Dr. Samuel Prescott suddenly jumped his horse over a wall and rode to Concord. William Dawes apparently also got away. Paul Revere was held and questioned. After a few hours, without his horse, Revere was freed. He made it to Lexington before dawn. During that evening, at least fifty men rode throughout Massachusetts to warn the colonists that the regulars were on their way to Concord.

QUESTIONS:

1. What information in this account is different from what you already had about this ride?

2. Given this information, is Paul Revere a hero? Why or why not?

3. What are the names of the other two men who rode for a short time along with Revere? Why are these men not remembered as well as Revere is?

43. AN EYEWITNESS TO THE EVENTS IN LEXINGTON

BY ELIZA (APRIL 19, 1841)

There were numerous eyewitness accounts of what happened on Lexington Green the morning of April 19, 1775. Nearly all of these eyewitnesses wrote down or reported what they saw and experienced within a few days or weeks of the event. This resource is a letter written by a woman named Eliza sixty-six years afterwards.

> My dear niece Lucy Allen,
>
> This day is sixty-six years since the war began on the Common which I now can see from this window as I sit here writing . . . and can see, in my mind, all the British troops marching off the Common to Concord, and the whole scene, how Aunt Hancock and Miss Dolly Quincy, with their cloaks and bonnets on, Aunt crying and wringing her hands and helping Mother dress the children, Dolly going round with Father to hide money, watches and anything down in the potatoes and up in the garrett. . . . Father sent Jonas down to Grandfather Cook's to see who was killed and what their condition was and in the afternoon, Father, Mother with me and the Baby went to the Meeting House. There was the eight men that was killed, seven of them my father's parishioners, . . . all in Boxes made of four large Boards nailed up and, after Pa had prayed, they were put onto two horse carts and took into the grave yard. It was a little rainy but we waited to see them covered up . . . and then for fear the British should find them, my Father thought some of the men had best Cut some pine or oak bows and spread them on their place of burial.
>
> The extraordinary circumstance that I should be the only one of this Family who should witness the first Burial of the first slain of the war between Great Britain and America and Be not only continued in Life but on the same spot of earth and in the same house where the first Patriots in the Country was at that period; Hancock and Adams and Father who was known as a superior Whig. Pray read with patience perhaps my last letter for I am full of years.
>
> Your aged Aunt Eliza

From the records of the Lexington Historical Society

QUESTIONS:

1. Just after dawn on April 19, the colonial militia and the regulars fired at each other, and eight colonists were killed. What evidence is there that Eliza saw the gunfire and the killing?

2. Eliza's parents knew that the regulars were coming. In preparation, what did her parents spend the early morning doing?

3. What situation did Eliza say was a very "extraordinary circumstance" for her?

4. What does Eliza's account contribute to our knowledge of the events?

5. Why did she leave out many other details of that day?

44. ABIGAIL ADAMS EXPRESSES HER SUPPORT FOR THE BLACKS

(SEPTEMBER 1774)

Abigail Adams, the wife of John Adams, was no typical woman of this era. She had a number of ideas that today are considered progressive. She was concerned about a number of issues associated with rights and freedom. This resource reflects her concerns about blacks. The text also reveals a number of Abigail Adams's other political ideas. Note that the use of the word Negro was common in her time.

> There has been a conspiracy of the negroes. At present it is kept pretty private, and was discovered by one who endeavored to dissuade them from it. . . . They conducted [themselves] in this way . . . to draw up a petition to the [royal] Governor, telling him they would fight for him provided he would arm them, and engage to liberate them if he conquered [the rebels]. . . . I wish most sincerely [that] there was not a slave in the province; it always appeared a most iniquitous scheme to me to fight ourselves for what we are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we have.
>
> *Abigail Adams in a letter to her husband, John Adams*

QUESTIONS:

1. What actions by the blacks did Abigail Adams call a conspiracy?

2. What did the blacks ask the royal governor to do for them in exchange for fighting the rebels?

3. What did Abigail Adams wish did not exist in the colony?

4. What group of people did she say had as much right to freedom as she and others like her?

5. What did she say that she and others did every day to the blacks?

6. What was she asking her husband, John Adams, to help her do?

7. To what extent did Abigail Adams want to extend liberty and freedom to the blacks?

8. What reactions might most citizens of the colonies have had to Abigail Adams's attitudes towards blacks?

45. PETITION FROM A "GRATE NUMBER OF BLACKES" TO THE ROYAL GOVERNOR AND GENERAL OF THE ARMY, THOMAS GAGE

(SEPTEMBER 1774)

This resource is an excerpt from a petition from a "Grate Number of Blackes" of the Province of Massachusetts. It was written and signed by a large number of blacks who delivered it on May 25, 1775, to the newly-appointed Royal Governor and General of the Army, Thomas Gage, and to the general court of Boston. Many blacks in Massachusetts believed that war was inevitable and that the time was ripe to ask for the rights and liberties granted to all non-blacks. Petitions like this had been sent to leaders of the colonial opposition as well. But this particular petition, like all the ones before and after, was not acted upon. Please note that those who wrote and signed this petition used the orthography Blackes.

> "... [We Blackes] apprehind we have in common with all other men a naturel right to our freedoms without Being depriv'd of them by our fellow men as we are a freeborn Pepel and have never forfeited this Blessing by aney compact or agreement whatever. But we were unjustly dragged by the cruel hand of power from our dearest frinds and sum of us stolen from the bosoms of our tender Parents and from a Populous Pleasant and plentiful country and Brought hither to be made slaves for Life in a Christian land. Thus we are deprived of every thing that hath a tendency to make life even tolerable, the endearing ties of husband and wife we are strangers to ... Our children are also taken from us by force and sent maney miles from us. ... Thus our Lives are imbittered. ... There is a great number of us sencear ... members of the Church of Christ how can the master and the slave be said to fulfil that command Live in love let Brotherly Love condoner and abound Beare yea one anothers Bordenes. How can the master be said to Beare my Bordoen when he Beares me down with the ... chanes of slavery ... Nither can we reap an equal benefet from the laws of the Land which doth not justifi but condemns Slavery or if there had bin aney Law to hold us in Bondage ... ther never was aney to inslave our children for life when Born in a free Countrey. We therefore Bage your Excellency and Honors will ... cause an act of the legislative to be pessed that we may obtain our Natural right our freedoms and our children be set at liberty at the yeare of twenty one. ..."

QUESTIONS:

1. Define petition. What are at least two purposes of petitions?

2. What does this petition request the royal governor to do?

3. Why would these blacks send this petition to General Thomas Gage in May of 1775?

4. What do blacks have in common with other people in the colonies and England?

5. What point do they make about the relationship between master and slave?

6. Summarize what these blacks wanted the royal governor to accept as truths.

7. Why did the colonists who insisted on their rights and liberty not extend these to blacks?

46. PROCLAMATION TO THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON TO TURN IN THEIR FIREARMS

(Issued by General Thomas Gage, June 19, 1775)

This resource is the proclamation that General Thomas Gage issued the city of Boston two months after the events at Lexington and Concord. On June 17 he captured Bunker and Breed's Hills at a terrible price of dead and wounded. He was now concerned that the colonists inside Boston might rise up against him. Gage's army was restricted to the area immediately around Boston, and the rebelling colonists were building trenches and defenses that prevented the regulars from leaving the city. Gage now prepared to make Boston as safe as he could for his troops and the citizens. In this document he states that those who fail to turn in their arms will be considered traitors.

Whereas, notwithstanding the repeated Assurances of the Selectmen and others, That all the Inhabitants of the Town of BOSTON had bona Fide, delivered their Fire-Arms unto the Persons appointed to receive them, though I had Advices at the same Time of the contrary, and whereas I have since had full Proof that many have been perfidious [faithless, disloyal] in this Respect and have secreted great Numbers:

I have thought fit to issue this Proclamation, to require of all Persons who have yet Fire-Arms in their Possession, immediately to surrender them at the Court-House, to such Persons as shall be authorized to receive them; and hereby to declare that all Persons in whose Possession any Arms may hereafter be found, will be deemed Enemies to his Majesty's government.

GIVEN at Boston, the Nineteenth Day of June, 1775, in the Fifteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord, GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of GOD of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, KING, Defender of the Faith. &c.

THO'S GAGE

QUESTIONS:

1. How many weeks after the events at Lexington and Concord was this proclamation issued?

2. Define proclamation.

3. Why did General Gage issue this proclamation at this particular time?

4. What did General Gage hope to accomplish by issuing this proclamation?

47. A REFUGEE SONG

(AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

During the 1760s and into the mid-1770s, many Loyalists used the newspapers and broadsides to express their beliefs and feelings about many issues. They also wrote poems and songs. In this song, a Loyalist who had fled into one of the cities occupied by the British army expresses support for King George III. This song also supported what the king did to defend the laws of the land and those who followed the laws.

Here's a cheer, brave boys, to the health of our king.

Long may the king live, and long may we all sing.

In praise of a monarch who boldly defends

The laws of the land, and the cause of his friends.

Then cheer up, my lads, we have nothing to fear.

While we remain steady, always keep ready,

To add to the many trophies of this happy year.

QUESTIONS:

1. Why is there reason to praise King George III?

2. The song said that King George defended the laws of the land. If he did this and did it well, why people would be upset with him?

3. What words in this song suggest the writer may be loyal to King George III?

4. What words in this song suggest the writer may be a patriot?

5. What words in this song would suggest that King George supported the civil rights of the citizens in the colonies?

6. Given what you know about the colonists who opposed King George III and the Acts of Parliament, why are these colonists called patriots?

48. THE LIBERTY TREE IS CUT DOWN

(BROADSIDE: BOSTON - DEC. 2, 1773)

The Liberty Tree (or Liberty Elm, Tree of Liberty) was a particular elm tree within Boston Commons. It was from this tree on August 14, 1765, that the citizen mob hung in effigy Peter Oliver, the royal secretary of Massachusetts colony. This event is believed to be the first hanging on any liberty tree in the colonies. This resource reports the actions of soldiers to cut down Boston's Liberty Tree on the orders of General Thomas Gage. Oliver had just announced his intention to enforce the Stamp Act and require all paper documents be stamped with revenues collected for each stamp. Key members of the Parliament and local citizens who supported the Stamp Act were also hung in effigy on this tree. The tree became a central meeting place for many outdoor protests against the laws and actions of the king or Parliament, and it was the leading symbol for the ideas and positions taken by these colonists. By 1769, the area around the tree was called Liberty Hall. Many were tarred and feathered near this tree.

Many towns and cities quickly designated a dominant tree in their central commons, greens or market place as their liberty tree. In many places poles, called liberty poles, were used instead of a tree. After July 2, 1776, these were set up as a symbol for the new union of thirteen American states fighting to ensure their independence.

THE LIBERTY TREE IS CUT DOWN

"The enemies to liberty and America, headed by [General] Tom Gage, lately gave a notable specimen of their hatred to the very name of liberty. A party of them, of whom Job Williams was the ringleader, a few days since repaired to a tree at the south end of Boston, known by the name of *Liberty Tree*, and armed with axe&s, c., made a furious attack upon it. After a long spell of laughing, and grinning, sweating, swearing, and foaming with malice diabolical, they cut down a tree, because it bore the name of liberty.

Be it known to this infamous band of traitors, that the GRAND AMERICAN TREE OF LIBERTY, planted in the centre of the united colonies of North America, now flourishes with unrivalled, increasing beauty; and bids fair in a short time to afford under its wide-spreading branches, a safe and happy retreat for all the sons of Liberty, however numerous and dispersed."

This notice appeared in Boston's Constitutional Gazette (September 9, 1775).

"In the exploit of cutting down the Liberty Tree in Boston by Gage's men, a soldier in attempting to dismantle it of one of its branches, fell on the pavement, by which he was instantly killed."

This notice appeared in Boston's Constitutional Gazette (September 16, 1775).

QUESTIONS:

1. When was Boston's elm tree first recognized as the Liberty Tree?

2. What did the liberty tree symbolize for Bostonians?

3. What were the purposes of a liberty tree?

4. What is a liberty hall?

5. Why did the royal government in Boston want to cut down the liberty tree?

49. LIBERTY TREE

ATLANTICUS (JULY 1775)

During the revolutionary era thousands of poems and songs were written to express the author's ideas. This song first appeared in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* in July 1775. Americans sang it often during and long after the American War for Independence. Although Atlanticus was a pseudonym frequently used by Thomas Paine, no one has confirmed that he wrote this poem.

In a chariot of light from the regions of day,
Beneath this fair branch, like the patriarchs of old,
The Goddess of Liberty came;
Their bread, in contentment they eat;
Ten thousand celestials directed the way,
Unwearied with trouble, of silver or gold,
And thither conducted the dame,
Or the cares of the grand and the great.
This fair budding branch, from the garden above
With timber and tar, they old England supplied,
Where millions on millions agree;
Supported her power on the seas;
She bro't in her hand, as a pledge of her love,
Her battles they fought, without having a groat,
The plant she call'd Liberty Tree.
For the honor of Liberty Tree.
This celestial exotic [tree] struck deep in the ground
But hear, O ye swains, ('tis a tale most profane)
Like a native it flourish'd and bore;
How all the tyrannical powers,
The fame of its fruit, drew the nations around, King,
Commons, and Lords, are uniting amain,
To seek out its peaceable shore.
To cut down this guardian of ours;
Unmindful of names or distinction they came,
From the east to the west, blow the trumpet to arms,
For freemen like brothers agree;
Thro' the land let the sound of it flee,
With one spirit endow'd, they one friendship pursued
Let the far and the near, —all unite with a cheer,
And their temple was the Liberty Tree.
In defense of our Liberty Tree.

QUESTIONS:

1. What is the main theme of this song?

2. For what reasons might this have been a popular song throughout the revolutionary period?

3. Suppose you were one of the colonists who opposed the Crown and Parliament. Would you have liked to sing this song?

4. What parts of this song are relevant today?

50. WORDS OF THE LOYALISTS

(AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

Between twenty to thirty percent of the non-slave population in the colonies is thought to have remained loyal to the Crown, Parliament and Britain during this time. For various reasons, most of these people remained relatively inactive and quiet rather than active during the entire era. Thousands left their property in the suburbs and rural areas to move into such cities as Boston, New York City and Philadelphia when they were occupied by royal troops. Over 100,000 eventually moved out of the thirteen colonies during and immediately after the war. The statements in this resource provide a few glimpses into the thoughts and attitudes of the Loyalists. These statements cover the period before, during and after the war.

On April 11, 1775, a group of friends met in New York City. Rivington's Gazette, dated April 20, reported the events later that day.

"The friends to order and government . . . declared their determined resolution to continue steadfast in their allegiance to their gracious and merciful sovereign, King George the Third; to submit to lawful authority, and to abide by and support the only true representatives of the people of the colony, the General Assembly. Then giving three huzzas, they returned to Captain Hatfield's singing, as they went, with a loyal enthusiasm, the grand and animating song of

"God save great George our king,
Long live our noble king," &c.

At their return, finding that many of their friends had arrived during their absence, and that many still kept coming in, they proceeded to draw up, and sign a declaration, which they seemed to do with as much patriotic zeal as ever warmed the hearts of true and faithful subjects."

"They call me a brainless Tory; but tell me . . . which is better—to be ruled by one tyrant three thousand miles away, or by three thousand tyrants not a mile away?"

Reverend Mather Byles, Congregational Clergyman, Boston shortly after the Boston Massacre, March 1770

"I have always eaten the king's bread, and always intend to."

Joshua Loring, on his way to assist the regulars in Lexington, April 19, 1775

"I cannot say, but I wished some of my violent countrymen could have such an opportunity as I have had. I think they would be convinced that George the third has not one grain of Tyranny in his composition, and that he is not, he cannot be that bloody minded man they have so repeatedly and so illiberally called him. It is impossible; a man of his fine feelings, so good a husband, so kind a father, cannot be a Tyrant."

Samuel Shoemaker, Philadelphia Loyalist

QUESTIONS:

1. Define loyalty.

2. What are at least three reasons to be loyal to something or someone?

3. From what these people say, to what or to whom was each person loyal? Why?

4. Would you say these people are proud of their loyalty?

5. What attitudes do these people have toward the protesting colonists?

6. Is the Pledge of Allegiance, an oath of loyalty to the flag or to the republic for which the flag stands?

51. PROCLAMATION BY THE KING FOR SUPPRESSING REBELLION AND SEDITION

(AUGUST 23, 1775)

In August 1775, King George III received the two petitions sent by the Continental Congress. One, called the Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms, stated the reasons why many people in the colonies were willing to fight. This declaration stated that these people believed that they were fighting for their rights under the English Constitution. The second, called the Olive Branch Petition, professed loyalty to the king and hoped for a peaceful settlement of all issues that divided the colonies and Britain. The king and his ministers agreed that since 1763 what Parliament had correctly managed and protected the empire. They viewed many of the actions of the colonists as an illegal challenge to the constitution of Britain and the authority of the king and Parliament. King George refused to accept both petitions. Instead, with the support of his ministers, he declared the colonies in open rebellion. The proclamation gives his evaluation of the situation in North America and his position on what should be done to end the rebellion and treason.

Whereas many of our subjects in divers parts of our Colonies and Plantations in North America, misled by dangerous and ill designing men, and forgetting the allegiance which they owe to the power that has protected and supported them; after various disorderly acts committed in disturbance of the publick peace; to the obstruction of lawful commerce, and to the oppression of our loyal subjects carrying on the same; have at length proceeded to open and avowed rebellion, by arraying themselves in a hostile manner, to withstand the execution of the law, and traitorously preparing, ordering and levying war against us:

And whereas, there is reason to apprehend that such rebellion hath been much promoted and encouraged by the traitorous correspondence, counsels and comfort of divers wicked and desperate persons within this realm:

To the end therefore, that none of our subjects may neglect or violate their duty through ignorance thereof, or through any doubt of the protection which the law will afford to their loyalty and zeal, we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue our Royal Proclamation, hereby declaring, that not only all our Officers, civil and military, are obliged to exert their utmost endeavours to suppress such rebellion, and to bring the traitors to justice, but that all our subjects of this Realm, and the dominions thereunto belonging, are bound by law to be aiding and assisting in the suppression of such rebellion, and to disclose and make known all traitorous conspiracies and attempts against us, our Crown and dignity; and we do accordingly strictly charge and command all our Officers, as well civil as military, and all others our obedient and loyal subjects, to use their utmost endeavours to withstand and suppress such rebellion, and to disclose and make known all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which they shall know to be against us, our Crown and dignity; and for that purpose, that they transmit to one our principal Secretaries of State, or other proper officer, due and full information of all persons who shall be found carrying on correspondence with, or in any manner or degree aiding or abetting the persons now in open arms and rebellion against our government, within any of our Colonies and Plantations in North America, in order to bring to condign punishment the authors, perpetrators, and abetters of such traitorous designs.

Given at our Court at St. James's the twenty-third day of August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, in the fifteen year of our reign.

QUESTIONS:

1. Define treason, conspiracy and suppression.

2. Why did King George III have this Proclamation issued in August 1775?

3. What specific actions does King George III say that he will do to put an end to the rebellion?

4. Suppose you were one of the so called traitors and that you had a chance to write a letter to King George III reacting to this proclamation. What arguments would you make?

52. EXCERPTS FROM A LETTER FROM KING GEORGE III TO HIS PRIME MINISTER, LORD NORTH

(1775)

Like most kings of England, King George III wrote a number of letters and notes to his ministers and friends. By 1773 he had taken a more direct and active part in the efforts to govern and calm the colonies. He never questioned the right of the monarch and Parliament to govern the colonies, and he expected the colonists to follow the law as people in the rest of the empire and in England were expected to do. This resource provides excerpts from one of the king's letters written shortly after the First Continental Congress adjourned in 1775.

> "I returned the private letters received from Lieut. General [Thomas] Gage [now also royal governor of Massachusetts]; his idea of Suspending the [Coercive] Acts appears to me the most absurd [action] that can be suggested; the People [in Boston] are ripe for mischief [and if] the Mother Country [suspends] the measures She has thought necessary this must suggest to the Colonies a fear [on our part] that alone prompts them to their present violence; we must either master them or totally leave them to themselves and treat them as Aliens; I do not by this mean to [suggest] that I am for [recommending or demanding] new measures; but I am for Supporting those already undertaken."

QUESTIONS:

1. What did King George III consider to be "absurd"? Explain his rationale.

2. What might the king have meant by the expression "ripe for mischief"?

3. King George was worried about how the colonies might view him if he were to withdraw the Coercive or Intolerable Acts. Given the situation in the colonies, was his concern justified? Why or why not?

4. The king said that he had only two choices. What were those two choices?

5. What did he say that he wants done?

6. Was General Gage correct in suggesting the suspension of the Coercive Acts?

53. THE MANNER AND TACTICS OF EUROPEAN ARMIES IN THE LATE 1700s

This resource contains a number of details concerning the general manner in which wars and battles were fought during this time. These details primarily focus on the way they tended to fight in Europe because, throughout this war, both sides fought in this manner whenever they could. Even George Washington wanted to train his men so that they could fight in this way.

During the Seven Years War (French and Indian War) that ended in 1763, Britain soundly defeated the armies and navies of France and Spain and their allies. Throughout the Revolutionary War, the British imperial army was considered the best fighting force in the Western world. Its soldiers were usually well trained, equipped, supplied, and disciplined.

Because it cost money to train, transport and pay the soldiers, the British aimed to get the enemy to surrender with the least number of casualties on both sides. An enemy might surrender merely because it was out maneuvered before or shortly after the battle began. In other instances, a commander might halt the advance of his men if he believed that he had won a battle decisively; in this way the other army could surrender with honor on the following day. In other words, the purpose of battle was not to kill but to determine whose army was more powerful, at least on that day. If a battle was fought and neither side retreated or surrendered, then the goal was to crush the other side in a decisive manner.

During battles it was just about impossible to hear any verbal orders. The sound of a single musket was extremely loud. Thus the noise of hundreds of muskets in close proximity firing simultaneously was deafening. The sounds of cannons, yelling, screams of pain and sounds of the dying also filled the battlefield. So instead of vocal commands, armies used fifes and drums to convey commands. These sounds served as the cues.

Because of the general inaccuracy of musket fire, the more lethal weapon was the bayonet. Often exceeding fifteen inches in length, the bayonet on the end of a musket and thrust properly could instantly kill or seriously wound someone. While the side of it could be used to block an enemy's attack, direct frontal thrust did the most damage. A proper thrust was a direct hit with the point of the bayonet coming into contact with the skin at roughly a ninety degree angle. The front of the musket was inserted into the body and then quickly pulled up to widen the incision and cut the inner organs as quickly as possible.

Bayonets were also important because muskets lacked long-range accuracy. Their relative inaccuracy forced men to be rather close to one another when the shooting began. Therefore, after a few rounds were fired, the soldiers were often close enough for hand-to-hand combat. Officers carried swords because they were more of a gentlemen's weapon than a bayonet was. The common foot soldier carried a heavy musket, weighing fourteen pounds or more and a bayonet, a weapon that fit their social status.

In moving into position for a battle, the men marched in close shoulder-to-shoulder formation with lockstep precision. The maneuvering and formations required large open areas, so wooded areas and places where one could hide behind and fire were avoided. As they marched into battle, the men would line up in rows of two to four men deep and walk across an open field toward an enemy, which was in identical formations. When they were close enough, usually less that 100 yards from one another, the front row would fire together. If all went well, then many men in the front line of the enemy would be killed or seriously wounded with each firing. Then the second row of soldiers would step up to replace their fallen comrads. The next mass firing was expected to kill or wound the new front line, and the whole pattern would repeat itself until they were close enough for bayonets and hand-to-hand combat or one side retreated or surrendered.

Traditionally, during battles the common soldiers fired at other common soldiers. Officers, drummers and buglers, and standard bearers usually did not have weapons. These people were not considered special targets. However, sometimes they were killed or wounded by accident. Outside of hand-to-hand combat situations, deliberately aiming at officers and other unarmed soldiers was considered ungentlemanly and a violation of the traditional etiquette of warfare.

In the standing armies of Europe nearly all of the common foot soldiers either were prisoners, unemployed or from the poorest segment of the population. Many men stayed in the army for years or as long as they could physically do the work. Hence, within each unit the men developed incredibly close ties. In battle, those who were to a soldier's left, right and back were like family, so to harm them was like hurting or killing one's brother.

An intense pride for the unit itself prevents one from dishonoring the name and reputation of the unit. For many soldiers, the unit's standard was more than a flag or sign. It was the symbol for the unit itself. It served as a concrete sign for all that the unit was and meant for its men. To let the colors fall was often viewed as dishonoring the unit and was almost the same as giving up.

This feeling of camaraderie, loyalty and commitment often played out in the heat of battle. Because of these feelings of pride and honor, battles would often take on a life of their own. At these times, individuals and units fought both to obey orders and to live up to the expectations of the unit and each man in it. Motivated by their feelings and desire to win and survive, their individual and group behavior would drive them forward, attending so much to orders as to what they believed needed to be done in the particular situations in which they found themselves.

We must not forget that in this time period, men often viewed war in what we call romantic terms. War and the events of battle were seen as situations to show or prove one's courage, honor, gallantry and bravery. For many people at this time, these words tended to define manhood, and war was a test of their virility. Those who ran away during battle or who did less than they might have were viewed as cowards or weak. The fear of being viewed by one's fellow soldiers as being seen in this way was enough to make many men stay and fight. People talked about the glory of doing battle and fighting. Words such as these were frequently used in journals of officers and soldiers alike. Such words were used more frequently by those distant from the killing fields of the wars. The major poets in Western society held this view of war until the first few months of World War I in 1914.

QUESTIONS:

1. What actions were considered ungentlemanly for a soldier to do?

2. Why did each army unit have a drum and fife corps along side it?

3. Describe the relationships that many men in the regular army had with one another.

54. FACTORS THAT HANDICAPPED THE CROWN'S ABILITY TO WAGE EFFECTIVE WAR

The armed forces of Great Britain did not lose this war because of only one fault. Rather, there were numerous factors that hindered and made ineffective many of the things Britain's leaders tried to do. This resource lists a number of the important factors that handicapped the British war effort.

- The royal government and generals had no firm purpose for waging the war. They had no logical aim. Military victories and control over a section of land could not create favorable postwar conditions and/or relations. They sought some type of compromise; yet, there was no real basis for negotiations. Once the war had started, the Americans could not see anything of value in what Britain offered in return for a permanent peace.
- There was no center of the enemy that Britain could capture and end the war. The Continental Congress moved from city to city, and each Continental army fought almost as an independent army. There was no one that the British army could defeat that would quickly bring about the surrender of the entire colonial opposition.
- Britain greatly underestimated the colonists' resolve to win the war once it began. They expected the people to give up their resistance once thousands of troops landed in America. They expected colonial support for their leaders to crumble, especially because none of the colonial leaders had had any previous experience in leading a national government or a major war.
- British commanders seriously underestimated the skills, talents, maturity and charisma of George Washington.
- Because of its huge debts, the royal ministry had to wage war economically. It had to take short cuts or do without certain things; these actions added to the caution and delays.
- Fighting against their own countrymen was both a psychological and emotional handicap for soldiers as well as civilians on both sides of the ocean.
- The element of time continuously handicapped British operations. Communications and transportation, both across the Atlantic and within the colonies, were slow and ineffective. The typical transatlantic voyage took four to six weeks. Seasonal weather conditions played a major role in the quality as well as length of the journey.
- Delays in news, orders and supplies were costly. The uncertainties surrounding arrivals or replies frequently led to either undue caution, unnecessary delays or uncertain expectations in key situations, which later proved costly. Speed of communications and transportation was never considered so vital so frequently in any of Britain's previous wars.
- The use of foreign mercenaries provided a useful propaganda weapon for the colonial press. These foreigners were viewed as hired killers of the king to fight against the king's own people.
- The Crown's army suffered from extreme overconfidence. Regular officers and men were sure of victory, especially after examining the appearance of the colonial militia and initial battle behaviors of the colonists.
- The British depended on the bayonet instead of shooting accuracy. This was crucial in some areas where accurate distance shooting could change conditions on the battlefield.
- Military etiquette used on European battlefields, as developed by Frederick the Great, had to be modified. The British preferred to fight in the traditional Continental style throughout the war.
- Crown officers were more gentlemen than soldiers. They were used to the comforts of life as if they were still in England. Every Crown general's way of life as an English gentleman had to be maintained at all times—even on the march and near the battlefield.
- There were few advocates of a so-called soft peace with the colonists. Many ministers of Parliament wanted harsh terms and payments. Thus, the colonies assumed that it was a do or die struggle on their part.

- Britain was mostly self-sustaining. Britain's ability to maintain a large army overseas and to support its population at home was limited. Britain's merchant marine was further handicapped due to the lack of protection from attack or capture on the open seas. For example over 750 military and nonmilitary cargo ships were captured by colonial ships in one twenty-month period. The merchants were also restricted because of the closing of colonial and ally ports to their ships.

- Britain was not prepared for a war, much less a long, intense war. Not until after the Battle of Bunker Hill in July 1775 did England even begin to think in terms of war rather than merely rebellion. It tried to avert a war. Even as late as July 1776, it still hoped to end all hostilities. Britain never planned for a long war and always waited for the one decisive victory.

- Britain had no allies to help fight a war to protect its overseas empire. After the Seven Years War, no one would support it. With the exception of hiring troops from Germany, Britain had to fight entirely alone.

- Britain tried not to go to war with France. A war with France meant a war with Spain. Britain had to avoid a two-front war effort because it could not finance or capably wage a two-front world war. It hoped a concentrated effort in the colonies would bring about a quick conclusion before the Americans could convince the French to aid them.

- Britain constantly sought and hoped for Loyalist support a large scale. This support was never received. Its armies never could get a large number of Loyalists to help them control any particular area. Moreover, the generals and Parliament also never did what was needed to gain and keep the Loyalists' support because they tended to ignore or de-emphasize the support that the Loyalists did give.

- Overseas warfare was difficult to wage due to the problem of distance. The 3,000 miles that separated the colonies from the British Isles took between four and twelve weeks to cover. In addition, the troops often arrived sick and weary from the voyage, and most of their horses died in transit.

- The Royal Navy was in poor condition with many old or poorly repaired ships, and thus it was very ill-prepared for any heavy-duty operations. After 1765, few warships were kept in full condition and even fewer were built.

- Britain frequently won with smashing victories at the last minute. It did not begin to really try to win this war until 1778. By then it was too late because France and Spain had entered the war.

QUESTIONS:

1. Define handicap.

2. From this list, what conditions or actions probably affected Britain's war-making effort the most? Justify your answer.

3. Given the technology and attitudes of the times, which of these conditions or actions could not be avoided? Why?

4. Which of these conditions and actions could have been overcome or played less of a role in Britain's war-making efforts?

5. How did these conditions and actions influence the ways that the colonists fought the war?

55. SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY

The ideas that became the major issues in this era accepted the more basic idea that a social contract existed between the people and the leaders of government. According to the social contract theory, at some early period centuries ago, individual humans agreed to give up their existence as individuals living in isolation in order to live and cooperate within human groups or societies. Each human gave up some of his or her independence and freedom in order to enjoy the benefits of social life. And each person agreed to live within the rules of the social group. In exchange, the group agreed that each human would be allowed the greatest amount of freedom possible without harming other individuals and the society. In this agreement between individuals and society, the people agreed to set up a government and to allow leaders to rule as long as the government and its leaders followed the contract. The government and its leaders would serve the people, establish and follow reasonable rules, arrange for the protection of the society, preserve social order and stability, and ensure that individuals could prosper with the least restrictions. Government leaders were expected to be consistent and fair.

According to this contract, the form of government did not matter. It could be a divine right monarchy, a republic or a representative democracy. The concern was how well the government leaders served the people. For their part, individual citizens were expected to follow the rules and limitations established by the group and its government; value law, order and social stability; do their very best to prosper as individuals so that the society as a whole could be improved; obey their leaders; not harm others or the society; and assume their duties and obligations to their society when called upon to do so, such as being soldiers in times of defense and paying taxes to run the government.

Under the social contract, people accepted the fact that the society, by way of the government, laws and social pressure, had the right to limit and interfere with individuals. However, the limitations and interference must be based on some moral or legal principles that were in the best interest of the people in general, rather than of the majority at a particular moment. In other words, the society or government could interfere if it did not violate the rights of all citizens in the society and would benefit the society as a whole. Those people who accepted the social contract claimed that, when individuals did not fulfill their duties and harmed or limit the society, these individuals could be punished. The people gave the government the power and authority to make and enforce laws and punish the disobedient.

Because the government and its leaders served with the approval of the people, the people had the right under the social contract to disband the government or replace its leaders. This would happen only when the majority of people decided that its leaders no longer served the people and promoted their best interests. This safeguard prevented the leaders from abusing their power. The people thought this ability was their way to monitor and limit the power and actions of their government leaders. They also thought that it would force their leaders to be directly responsible to the people.

Most people in England and the North American colonies believed that a social contract existed between the people and the king and Parliament. For them, the social contract was an agreement that humans voluntarily negotiated and accepted. All members of society were obligated to do their part to fulfill the contractual obligation.

QUESTIONS:

1. Define contract.

2. What is a social contract?

3. Summarize the major ideas in the social contract theory.

4. According to the theory, what is the relationship between the people and their government?

5. When did the social contract originate?

6. Why were so many colonists concerned about a social contract theory?

7. Which of the views of the social contract theory might most Americans today believe?

56. VIRGINIA GOVERNOR DUNMORE'S PROCLAMATION

(NOVEMBER 7, 1775)

Virginia's Royal Governor John Dunmore was a very strong supporter of the king, Parliament and the laws of Britain. In nearly every case he sided with King George III and Parliament. He strongly opposed those who challenged the Crown, Parliament and the new laws. The stronger his support for these things, the stronger and more widespread was the anger against him. Eventually, Dunmore took a number of actions without approval of the House of Burgesses. When the House members challenged him, Dunmore dissolved the House. Consequently, the members created an informal organization to coordinate opposition to the Crown, Parliament and Dunmore.

Opposition to Dunmore was so intense and life threatening that he fled Williamsburg on June 8, 1775. However, he remained in the area on board a ship of the Royal Navy just off the coast of Virginia. From there he tried to govern. This proclamation, known as Dunmore's Proclamation, was issued after he had received several reports that opposition colonists were forming an army and attacking Crown soldiers and officials in Virginia.

He believed that a proclamation might put a quick end to any military efforts the colonists might be planning. He also wanted to stop all further activity that he considered treasonous. Moreover, he hoped a proclamation would bring out the Loyalists whom he assumed made up the majority of Virginians. It declared Virginia to be in a state of open rebellion and placed the colony under martial law, and it offered freedom to slaves and bonded indentured servants of any rebel, if they were willing to bear arms and fight for the Crown.

The Virginians reacted quickly and with intensity. Many strongly opposed his willingness to free slaves and indentured servants and to arm them if they would join the governor's forces. There is evidence that this proclamation helped to change the minds of thousands of citizens so that they opposed the Crown. As a result, Dunmore lost much of his support in the colony.

Eventually, several thousand slaves took advantage of his offer of freedom and helped the Crown forces. These people, however, were not so much in favor of the Crown as they were seeking any means to gain their freedom. After the war, many of them volunteered to be shipped by the Crown overseas.

By his Excellency the Right Honourable JOHN Earl of DUNMORE his Majesty's Lieutenant and Governour-General of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia and Vice-Admiral of the same:

As I have ever entertained Hopes that an Accommodation might have taken place between Great Britain and this colony, without being compelled, by my Duty, to this most disagreeable, but now absolutely necessary Step, rendered so by a Body of armed Men, unlawfully assembled, firing on his Majesty's Tenders, and the Formation of an army, and that army now on their March to attack his Majesty's Troops, and destroy the well-disposed Subjects of this Colony: To defeat such treasonable Purposes, and that all such Traitors, and their Abetters, may be brought to Justice, and that the Peace and good Order of this Colony may be again restored, which the ordinary Course of the civil Law is unable to effect, I have thought fit to issue this my proclamation, hereby declaring, that until the aforesaid good Purposes can be obtained, I do, in Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given, by his Majesty, determine to execute martial Law, and cause the same to be executed throughout this Colony; and to the End that Peace and good Order may the sooner be restored, I do require every Person capable of bearing Arms to report to his Majesty's STANDARD, or be looked upon as Traitors to his Majesty's Crown and government and thereby become liable to the Penalty the Law inflicts upon such Offences, such as Forfeiture of Life, Confiscation of Lands, etc. And I do hereby further declare all indentured Servants, Negroes, or others (appertaining to Rebels) free, that are able and willing to bear Arms, they joining his Majesty's Troops, as soon as may be, for the more speedily reducing this Colony to a proper Sense of their Duty, to his Majesty's Crown and Dignity. I do farther order, and require, all his Majesty's liege Subjects to retain their Quitrents, or any other Taxes due.

GIVEN UNDER MY Hand, on Board the Ship William, off Norfolk, the 7th Day of November, in the 16th Year of his Majesty's Reign. [1776]

DUNMORE.
GOD SAVE THE KING.

QUESTIONS:

1. What are two purposes of a proclamation?

2. Define martial law.

3. What reasons did Governor Dunmore have for declaring martial law throughout Virginia?

4. What statements did he make that reveal that the rebel forces were taking control of Virginia?

5. The colonists who opposed the Crown and actions by Parliament called themselves patriots. What words does Dunmore use to describe these same colonists?

6. What offer does Governor Dunmore make to enslaved blacks and indentured servants?

57. LETTER REACTING TO GOVERNOR DUNMORE'S PROCLAMATION

There were many strong and angry reactions against Governor Dunmore's Proclamation of November 7 (resource 56). This source represents one of the best letters against his actions that were published in the *Virginia Gazette*. It claims that nothing good can come of this freeing of slaves. The author tells all blacks not to be tempted by this proclamation because doing so would only ruin them. Furthermore, the letter informs blacks that to run away and join Dunmore would not be in their best welfare because, if the whites suffer, certainly the blacks who sought freedom would suffer more. The majority of the letter addresses the issue of slavery. Nothing is said about the fact that Virginia was declared in a state of rebellion and that martial law was in effect throughout the colony.

The second class of people, for whose sake a few remarks upon this proclamation seem necessary, is the Negroes. They have been flattered with their freedom, if they be able to bear arms, and will speedily join Lord Dunmore's troops. To none then is freedom promised but to such as are able to do Lord Dunmore service: The aged, the infirm, the women and children, are still to remain the property of their masters, masters who will be provoked to severity, should part of their slaves desert them. Lord Dunmore's declaration, therefore, is a cruel declaration to the Negroes. He does not even pretend to make it out of any tenderness to them, but solely on his own account; and should it meet with success, it leaves by far the greater number at the mercy of an enraged and injured people. But should there be any amongst the Negroes weak enough to believe that Dunmore intends to do them a kindness, and wicked enough to provoke the fury of the Americans against their defenceless fathers and mothers, their wives, their women and children, let them only consider the difficulty of effecting their escape, and what they must expect to suffer if they fall into the hands of the Americans. Let them farther consider what must be their fate, should the English prove conquerors in this dispute. If we can judge of the future from the past, it will not be much mended.

Long have the Americans, moved by compassion, and actuated by sound policy, endeavoured to stop the progress of slavery. Our Assemblies have repeatedly passed acts laying heavy duties upon imported Negroes, by which they meant altogether to prevent the horrid traffick; but their humane intentions have been as often frustrated by the cruelty and covetousness of a set of English merchants, who prevailed upon the king to repeal our kind and merciful acts, little indeed to the credit of his humanity. Can it then be supposed that the Negroes will be better used by the English, who have always encouraged and upheld this slavery, than by their present masters, who pity their conditions, who wish, in general, to make it as easy and comfortable as possible, and who would willingly, were it in their power, or were they permitted, not only prevent any more Negroes from losing their freedom, but restore it to such as have already unhappily lost it. No, the ends of Lord Dunmore and his party being answered, they will either give up the offending Negroes to the rigour of the laws they have broken, or sell them in the West Indies, where every year they sell many thousands of their miserable brethren, to perish either by the inclemency of the weather, or the cruelty of barbarous masters.

Be not then, ye Negroes, tempted by this proclamation to ruin yourselves. I have given you a faithful view of what you are to expect; and I declare, before GOD, in doing it, I have considered your welfare, as well as that of the country. Whether you will profit by my advice I cannot tell; but this I know, that whether we suffer or not, if you desert us, you most certainly will.

Virginia Gazette (November 1775)

QUESTIONS:

1. The colonists claimed they were fighting against being enslaved by the British king and for liberty. What evidence is there that the author of this letter does not want freedom for blacks?

2. If blacks did desert and joined the British, what would happen to those caught?

3. What is this author's opinion of Dunmore's efforts toward blacks?

4. What words in this letter reveal the author's concern for the blacks' welfare?

58. VIRGINIA'S RESOLUTION FOR INDEPENDENCE

(MAY 15, 1776)

Contrary to popular belief, the Declaration of Independence was not the first such declaration in the colonies. During the four months prior to July 2, 1776, a number of colonies considered the matter of sovereignty. After the House of Burgesses was dissolved by the royal governor, a new Virginian government was established. This new Virginia government, according to British law, was illegal because it did not have the support of either Parliament or the king. All other colonial governments established after the conflict at Lexington were also illegal, including the Continental Congress.

The Virginians agreed a year after the events at Lexington and Concord that it was time to officially break the colony's political ties to Britain. However, instead of voting to make their colony independent, they decided that the Continental Congress, which represented all the colonies collectively, should be the one to declare independence. In this way, all the colonies would be declaring their independence at the same moment. This act would send a strong message to king and Parliament that the colonies were both fully united and committed to work together to be independent states.

FORASMUCH as all the endeavours of the United Colonies by the most decent representations and petitions to the king and parliament of Great Britain to restore peace and security to Americans under the British government and a re-union with that people upon just and liberal terms instead of a redress of grievances have produced from an imperious and vindictive administration increased insult, oppression and a vigorous attempt to effect our total destruction. By a late act, all these colonies are declared to be in rebellion, and out of the protection of the British Crown our properties subjected to confiscation, our people, when captured, compelled to join in the murder and plunder of their relations and countrymen, and all former rapine and oppression of Americans declared legal and just. Fleets and armies are raised, and the aid of foreign troops engaged to assist these destructive purposes: The king's representative in this colony hath not withheld all the powers of government from operating for our safety, but, having retired on board an armed ship, is carrying on a piratical and savage war against us tempting our slaves by every artifice to resort to him, and training and employing them against their masters. In this state of extreme danger, we have no alternative left but an abject submission to the will of those over-bearing tyrants, or a total separation from the Crown and government of Great Britain, uniting and exerting the strength of all Americans for defence, and forming alliances with foreign powers for commerce and aid to war: Wherefore, appealing to the SEARCHER OF HEARTS for the sincerity of former declarations, expressing our desire to preserve the connection with that nation, and that we are driven from that inclination by their wicked councils, and the eternal laws of self-preservation,

RESOLVED unanimously, that the delegates appointed to represent this colony in General Congress be instructed to propose to that respectable body to declare the United Colonies free and independent states, absolved from all allegiance to, or dependence upon, the Crown or parliament of Great Britain; and that they give the assent of this colony to such declaration, and to whatever measures may be thought proper and necessary by the Congress for forming foreign alliances and a confederation of the colonies, at such time, and in the manner, as to them shall seem best: Provided, that the power of forming government for, and the regulations of the internal concerns of each colony, be left to the respective colonial legislatures.

RESOLVED unanimously, that a committee be appointed to prepare a DECLARATION of RIGHTS, and such a plan of government as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in this colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people.

EDMD. [EDMUND] PENDLETON P. [President]
JOHN TAZEWELL, Clerk of the Convention

QUESTIONS:

1. In this resolution, what major ideas are stated in the introductory paragraph?

2. What specific action does the first resolved statement require?

3. What specific action does the second resolved statement require?

4. The leaders of Virginia had several reasons for wanting Virginia and the rest of the colonies to be independent of England's government and the empire. What reasons did they include in this resolution?

5. What would motivate the leaders of Virginia's government to ask the Continental Congress to vote on independence?

6. This resolution asks Congress to declare independence. It does not state that Virginia considers itself independent from Britain. What would motivate the leaders of Virginia's government not to vote on independence for Virginia?

7. Suppose you were a patriot in Virginia at this time. What reactions would you have to this resolution?

59. LETTER TO JAMES SULLIVAN FROM JOHN ADAMS

MAY 26, 1776

John Adams opposed giving people the right to participate equally in government if they did not have some means, such as property ownership, to independently support themselves. In his mind, women, freemen or any citizen—even white males who did not own land—should not be allowed to vote. And he definitely preferred men rather than women having a voice in government, even if a woman was financially independent. The views expressed in this letter were held by many in the colonies, including nearly all of the leaders of the opposition to the Crown. The letter reveals many of the ideas that shaped the thinking of colonial leaders during this time.

Our worthy friend, Mr. Gerry, has put into my hands a letter from you, of the sixth of May, in which you consider the principles of representation and legislation, and give us hints of some alterations, which you seem to think necessary, in the qualification of voters.

I wish, Sir, I could possibly find time to accompany you, in your investigation of the principles upon which a representative assembly stands, and ought to stand, and in your examination whether the practice of our colony has been conformable to those principles. But, alas! Sir, my time is so incessantly engrossed by the business before me, that I cannot spare enough to go through so large a field; and as to books, it is not easy to obtain them here; nor could I find a moment to look into them, if I had them.

It is certain, in theory, that the only moral foundation of government is, the consent of the people. But to what an extent shall we carry this principle? Shall we say that every individual of the community, old and young, male and female, as well as rich and poor, must consent, expressly, to every act of legislation? No, you will say, this is impossible. How, then, does the right arise in the majority to govern the minority, against their will? Whence arises the right of the men to govern the women, without their consent? Whence the right of the old to bind the young, without theirs?

But let us first suppose that the whole community, of every age, rank, sex, and condition, has a right to vote. This community is assembled. A motion is made, and carried by a majority of one voice. The minority will not agree to this. Whence arises the right of the majority to govern, and the obligation of the minority to obey?

From necessity, you will say, because there can be no other rule.

But why exclude women?

You will say, because their delicacy renders them unfit for practice and experience in the great business of life, and the hardy enterprises of war, as the arduous cares of state. Besides, their attention, is so much engaged with the necessary nurture of their children, that nature has made them fittest for domestic cares. And children have not judgment or will of their own. True. But will not these reasons apply to others? Is not equally true, that men in general, in every society, who are wholly destitute of property, are also too little acquainted with public affairs to form a right judgment, and too dependent upon other men to have a will of their own? If this is a fact, if you give to every man who has no property, a vote, will you make a fine encouraging provision for corruption, by your fundamental law? Such is the frailty of the human heart, that very few men who have no property, have any judgment of their own. They talk and vote as they are directed by some man of property, who has attached their minds to his interest.

Upon my word, Sir, I have long thought an army a piece of clockwork, and to be governed only by principles and maxims, as fixed as any in mechanics; and, by all that I have read in the history of mankind, and in authors who have speculated upon society and government, I am much inclined to think a government must manage a society in the same manner; and that this is machinery too.

Harrington has shown that power always follows property. This I believe to be as infallible a maxim in politics, as that action and reaction are equal, is in mechanics. Nay, I believe we may advance one step farther, and affirm that the balance of power in a society, accompanies the balance of property in land. The only possible way, then, of preserving the balance of power on the side of equal liberty and public virtue, is to make the acquisition of land easy to every member of society; to make a division of the land into small quantities, so that the multitude may be possessed of landed estates. If the multitude is possessed of landed estates. If the multitude is possessed of the balance of real estate, the multitude will have the balance of power, and in that case the multitude will take care of the liberty, virtue, and interest of the multitude, in all acts of government.

I believe these principles have been felt, if not understood, in the Massachusetts Bay, from the beginning; and therefore I should think that wisdom and policy would dictate in these times to be very cautious of making alterations. Our people have been very rigid in scrutinizing into the qualifications of voters, and I presume they will not now begin to be so. But I would not advise them to make any alteration in the laws, at present, respecting the qualifications of voters.

Your idea that those laws which affect the lives and personal liberty of all, or which inflict corporal punishment, affect those who are not qualified to vote, as well as those who are, is just. But so they do women, as well as men; children, as well as adults. What reason should there be for excluding a man of twenty years eleven months and twenty-seven days old, from a vote, when you admit one who is twenty-one? The reason is, you must fix upon some period of life, when the understanding and will of men in general, is fit to be trusted by the public. Will not the same reason justify the state in fixing upon some certain quantity of property, as a qualification?

The same reasoning which will induce you to admit all men who have no property, to vote, with those who have, for those laws which affect the person, will prove that you ought to admit women and children; for, generally speaking, women and children have as good judgments, and as independent minds, as those men who are wholly destitute of property; these last being to all intents and purposes as much dependent upon others, who will please to feed, clothe, and employ them, as women are upon their husbands, or children on their parents.

As to your idea of proportioning the votes of men, in money matters, to the property they hold, it is utterly impracticable. There is no possible way of ascertaining, at any one time, how much every man in a community is worth; and if there was, so fluctuating is trade and property, that this state of it would change in half an hour. The property of the whole community is shifting every hour, and no record can be kept of the changes.

Society can be governed only by general rules. Government cannot accommodate itself to every particular case as it happens, nor to the circumstances of particular persons. It must establish general comprehensive regulations for cases and persons. The only question is, which general rule will accommodate most cases and most persons.

Depend upon it, Sir, it is dangerous to open so fruitful a source of controversy and altercation as would be opened by attempting to alter the qualifications of voters; there will be no end of it. New claims will arise; women will demand a vote; lads from twelve to twenty-one will think their rights not enough attended to; and every man who has not a farthing, will demand an equal voice with any other, in all acts of state. It [will] tend to confound and destroy all distinctions, and prostrate all ranks to one common level.

QUESTIONS:

1. What might have been John Adams's major reason for writing this letter?

2. Why was Adams concerned about who was allowed to vote and hold public office?

3. Why might Adams have been afraid of letting people who did not own property vote and hold office?

4. What reason does Adams give for not changing any laws or requirements about who should be allowed to vote?

5. Suppose you lived in the colonies in 1776. Suppose you saw a copy of this letter. What would be the three most important ideas you would include in a response to this letter by John Adams?

60. INTRODUCTION OF THE RESOLUTION FOR THE COLONIES TO SEVER ALL ALLEGIANCE TO THE BRITISH CROWN

(JUNE 7, 1776)

June 1776 was fourteen months after the events in Lexington and Concord. Almost twelve months had passed since the Battles of Bunker and Breed's Hills. Subsequent efforts on both sides to establish peace had not been successful. Beginning in March 1776, four colonies openly discussed the idea of passing a law stating that they had officially cut themselves out of the British Empire. In other words, they wanted to become independent states rather than dependent colonies in an empire. Leaders in these colonies knew that it would be best if all the colonies united together and severed their ties with Britain at the same moment. This could only be done by the Continental Congress.

At the same time many colonists, including many of the leaders of the opposition to the Crown, still saw themselves as English citizens who owed allegiance to King George III. These citizens hoped and expected that the differences could be worked out. They really believed that peace could return to the colonies and an agreement could be reached among the king, Parliament and the colonies. Even in June, members of the Continental Congress offered toasts to King George III and the English Constitution.

In early June 1776, pressure was growing for the Continental Congress to take up the issue of severing all political ties with Britain. Many members of Congress believed that at least the matter of independence should be considered. They wanted to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of separating from the empire. Some of these same members also thought that the king and Parliament might change their minds if the colonies were considering independence. Other members wanted independence—the sooner the better.

Someone had to propose the matter of independence. On June 7, Richard Henry Lee, acting at the request of the new government of Virginia, stepped forward. This resource provides the opening lines of his proposal. On July 2, 1776, less than four weeks later, the Continental Congress agreed with Lee's resolution to sever officially all ties and allegiance to Britain.

> "IN CONGRESS, Friday June 7, 1776. The delegates from Virginia moved in obedience to instructions from their constituents that the Congress should declare that these United colonies are & of right ought to be free & independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them & the state of Great Britain is, & ought to be totally dissolved. . . ."

QUESTIONS:

1. Define resolution.

2. What are at least two purposes of a resolution?

3. What does this resolution want the Continental Congress to do?

4. Nearly all of the conditions or actions that the colonists protested against were the direct result of votes of Parliament, yet this resolution only mentions the king. What are two likely reasons why Parliament was not mentioned in this resolution?

5. In June 1776, what reasons did the Continental Congress have to approve this resolution?

6. In June 1776, what reasons did the Continental Congress have to reject this resolution?

7. If this resolution was approved, why would the Congress want to write the Declaration of Independence?

61. THE VIRGINIA "DECLARATION OF RIGHTS"

(APPROVED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE ON JUNE 12, 1776)

This declaration was written by a twenty-eight man committee appointed by an assembly of leaders of the colonial cause. This committee was authorized to write a constitution for the governance of Virginia as though Virginia were already independent from Britain. This declaration was the first statement approved by the committee. It makes clear that the basis of government is to protect natural rights, which all people had by virtue of their membership in the human species. It influenced similar statements adopted by other states as they were developing their state constitutions. It later become a model for the Bill of Rights.

A *Declaration of Rights* made by the Representatives of the good People of Virginia, assembled in full and free Convention, which rights to pertain to them and their posterity as the basis and foundation of government.

I. That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they can not by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

II. That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amendable to them.

III. That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people, nation, or community; of all the various modes and forms of government, that is best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of maladministration; and that, when a government shall be found inadequate or contrary hath an indubitable, unalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.

IV. That no man, or set of men, are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community but in considerations of public services, which not being descendible, neither ought the offices of magistrate, legislator, or judge to be hereditary.

V. That the legislative, executive and judicial powers should be separate and distinct; and that the members thereof may be restrained from oppression, by feeling and participation the burdens of the people, they should, at fixed periods, be reduced to a private station, return into that body from which they were originally taken, and the vacancies be supplied by frequent, certain and regular elections, in which all, or any part of the former members to be again eligible or ineligible, as the laws shall direct.

VI. That all elections ought to be free, and that all men having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, and attachment to the community have the right of suffrage, and cannot be taxed, or deprived of their property for public uses, without their own consent, or that of their representatives so elected, nor bound by any law to which they have not in like manner assented, for the public good.

VII. That all power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by any authority, without consent of the representatives of the people, is injurious to their rights, and ought not to be exercised.

VIII. That in all capital or criminal prosecutions, a man hath a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the accusers and witnesses, to call for evidence in his favor, and to speedy trial by an impartial jury of twelve men of his vicinage, without whose unanimous consent he cannot be found guilty; nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself; that no man be deprived of his liberty, except by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers.

IX. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

X. That general warrants, whereby an officer or messenger may be commanded to search suspected places without evidence of a fact committed, or to seize any person or persons not named, or whose offence is not particularly described and supported by evidence, are grievous and oppressive, and ought not to be granted.

XI. That in controversies respecting property, and in suits between man and man, the ancient trial by jury of twelve men is preferable to any other, and ought to be held sacred.

XII. That the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments.

XIII. That a well regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defence of a free State; that standing armies in time of peace should be avoided as dangerous to liberty; and that in all cases the military should be under strict subordination to, and by, the civil power.

XIV. That the people have a right to uniform government; and therefore, that no government separate from or independent of the government of Virginia, ought to be erected or established within the limits thereof.

XV. That no free government, or blessing of liberty, can be preserved to any people, but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality and virtue, and by a frequent recurrence to fundamental principles.

XVI. That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force of violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love and charity towards each other.

QUESTIONS:

1. Define declaration.

2. What are at least two purposes of a declaration?

3. What would the member of the House of Burgesses mean by the expression "by nature"?

4. What statements in this declaration reveal that the House of Burgesses believed in the social contract theory?

5. What would be at least three purposes for having a long list of specific rights?

6. Which of these rights would be the most difficult to protect for all citizens?

7. Read the Declaration of Independence. What specific ideas in the Declaration of Independence are similar to ideas included in Virginia's Declaration of Rights?

8. What specific ideas in the first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution are identical to ideas included in Virginia's Declaration of Rights?

62. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AN INTRODUCTION AND AN ANALYSIS OF ITS STRUCTURES

One way to organize the ideas in the Declaration of Independence is to divide the entire declaration into parts. Each focuses on a major idea that the Congress wanted to make clear to the public. Below is a description of its nine parts.

A. A statement of purpose for writing and making public this document at this moment: This document allowed the "people [who were fighting] to dissolve the political bands [with the British Crown], . . . [to] declare [to a candid world] the causes which impel them to the separation." However, these causes were not the grievances against George III that were listed in a later segment.

B. A statement of philosophy of government and political life that would allow people the right to establish their own government and to overthrow or separate from it: This statement asserts that when ". . . any form of government becomes destructive" of certain rights, including ". . . life, liberty & the pursuit of happiness" then the people have the right ". . . to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government."

C. An argument to convince people that rebellion had a place in the political affairs of all nations and that under certain circumstances such action was both required and respectable: In other words, under certain circumstances, the signers believed people had both the right and duty to overtuen their government and to establish a new one.

D. A statement claiming the colonists had lived and worked within an oppressive situation long enough and had not rushed to make war against the British Crown and to seek their independence from that same Crown.

E. A statement of evidence that the form of government—the monarchy under George III—had long been destructive of the people's rights: The evidence takes the form of a list of actions attributed to George III. The framers claim that these actions were evidence enough that he had deliberately acted over an extended period of time as a tyrant and had oppressed the people. They refer to these actions as grievances.

F. A statement of reasons why these grievances were included in this declaration to get other countries to accept that this particular struggle for separation was not a rebellion: They wanted the world to believe their struggle was a justifiable action. The separation was to oppose the king's direct intentions of establishing an absolute tyranny over the colonies and colonists, and not because of any specific acts of the king.

G. A statement that the colonists had legally and repeatedly expressed their concerns in the form of petitions to the king and that these had been ignored or brought greater oppression: The framers wanted the world to know that the colonists had repeatedly and over a long period of time appealed to the good faith and justice of the king and that these appeals did no good.

H. A statement that the colonists had decided to be free and independent rather than to remain oppressed under the conditions established by the king.

I. A statement of commitment by the framers—and all the people—to give their lives, fortunes and sacred honor in support of the intentions of the declaration of separation and the struggle to secure it.

FOLLOW UP TASK:

On your copy of the Declaration, circle the words, lines or sections that go with each of these parts. Label each set of circled information by a letter 'A' through 'I' so that you know which set of information goes with each of the parts.

QUESTIONS:

1. What is the definition of declaration?

2. Define independence.

3. According to the signers of this document, what were the major reasons for them to declare their independence in written form?

4. Which of these parts are most aligned with the ideas that lead the colonists to their war with the Crown?

5. While most Americans talk about and value the Declaration, a large number have never read it. Should students be required to read the entire Declaration of Independence?

6. What are the most important ideas in the Declaration that all Americans should remember?

7. What specific parts of the Declaration were included in the Constitution of the United States?

8. The name Declaration of Independence does not appear anywhere on the document. Why do we call this document the Declaration of Independence?

63. EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS FROM THE BATTLEFIELDS

Below is selection of first-hand accounts of what it was like to be in the midst of battle during the American Revolutionary War. These were selected as graphic narratives of scenes and activities surrounding soldiers during battle. They also reveal that although the weapons were primitive by today's standards, the weapons were able to kill and wound.

A cannon ball "cut down Lt. Young's platoon which was next to . . . mine[.] [T]he ball first took off the head of Smith, a stout heavy man and dashed it open, then took Taylor across the bowels, it then struck Sergeant Garret of our Company on the hip [and] took off the point of the hip bone[.] Smith and Taylor were left on the spot. Sergeant Garret was carried but died the same day[.] [N]ow to think, oh! what a sight that was to see within a distance of six rods those men with their legs and arms and guns and packs all in a heap[.]"

Ellisha Bostwick, a Connecticut soldier in the Continental army

The rebels "had either exhausted their [musket] ball, or were determined that every wound should prove fatal. Their muskets were charged with old nails and angular pieces of iron, and from most of the [Crown] men being wounded in the legs, I am inclined to believe that it was their design, not wishing to kill the men, to leave them as burdens on us, to exhaust the provisions, as well as to intimidate the rest of the soldiery."

A Crown surgeon treating the wounded and dying after the Battles of Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill, June 1775

After the battle, we went back to the dead and wounded. We found that "the men that was wounded in the thigh or leg, [the regulars had] dashed their brains with their muskets and run them through with their bayonets, made them like sieves. This was barbarity to the utmost."

Continental army Sergeant Thomas McCarty on what the regulars had done to the wounded after one battle, 1777

During the battle, "the greater part of the riflemen were pierced with the bayonet to the trees. These dreadful people ought rather to be pitied than feared; they always require a quarter of an hour's time to load a rifle, and in the meantime they feel the effects of our balls and bayonets."

Hessian colonel describing battle scene outside of New York City of Hessian and Crown forces against colonial riflemen, 1776

"We then advanced up the hill close to the Tory lines. There was a log across a hollow that I took my stand by, and stepping one step back, I was safe from British fire. I there remained firing until the British charged with bayonets. . . . The Fork boys fired and did considerable execution. I was preparing to fire when one of the British advancing [straight towards me], I stepped [out] and was in the act of cocking my gun when his bayonet was running along the barrel of my gun, and gave me a thrust through my hand and into my thigh. My antagonist and I both fell. The Fork boys retreated and loaded their guns. I was then lying under the smoke and it appeared that some of them were not more than a gun's length in front of the bayonets, and the farthest could not have been more than twenty feet in front when they discharged their rifles. It was said that every one dropped his man. The British then retreated in great haste, and were pursued by the Fork boys.

William Caldwell saw my condition, and pulled the bayonet out of my thigh, but it hung to my hand; he gave my hand a kick and it went right out. The thrust gave me much pain, but the pulling of it was much more severe. With my well hand I picked up my gun and found her discharged. I suppose that when the soldier made the thrust, I gripped the trigger and discharged her; the load must have passed through his bladder and cut a main artery of his back, as he bled profusely."

Robert Henry on events during the battle of Kings Mountain, North Carolina, in October 1780

QUESTIONS:

1. Given the information in the above eyewitness accounts, what do these descriptions reveal about fighting a war in the late 1700s?

2. Many soldiers feared the bayonet more than the guns of the enemy. What might have been their reasons for fearing the bayonet?

3. Many of the Crown soldiers were very upset at the defenders of Bunker and Breed's Hills because of the unusual materials the colonists used in their guns and cannons. From the surgeon's report, what were these materials? Why were they employed?

64. BLACKS DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

During the war, an estimated 7,000 blacks fought for the colonial cause. It is estimated that more than 20,000 played some role in the British war effort. But they were not always welcomed by both sides. For instance, shortly after George Washington arrived in Boston in July 1775 to take command of the Continental army, he barred "Negroes" and "vagabonds" from recruitment into the army. But he did allow those already in the army to remain. His attitude prevailed in spite of the fact that one black, Peter Salem, was honored by all soldiers a like for his heroism during the Battle of Bunker Hill two weeks earlier.

Prior to, during and after the war, thousands of blacks petitioned peacefully to the Loyalists, colonial and state legislatures; royal government officials; leaders of the colonial opposition and even members of the Continental Congress to end slavery, to prohibit bringing slaves into America and to extend the rights of freedom to blacks. Freed blacks petitioned that the rights of free Englishmen be extended to them. A small number wrote letters or had notices printed in newspapers urging those who owned slaves to release them during the owner's lifetime or upon his death. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, in particular, were directly contacted on this issue. Although Washington released his slaves upon his death, Jefferson never freed his slaves.

During the war both sides changed their attitudes about having blacks fight in their armies and navies. The northern states were the first to accept blacks into the Continental army units and local militia. In the South, many whites on both sides were reluctant to arm blacks for fear that they would use these arms against their former masters. Many predicted that arming blacks would lead to a wide-scale slave revolt. Anticipation of such a revolt existed throughout the war and for years afterward. The British were the first to try to recruit slaves, offering them freedom and payment of wages if they ran away and joined the Royal Army or Navy. Eventually, all the colonies saw the value of having blacks fight for the colonial cause against the Crown. The Continental Congress finally offered them land and a bonus for signing up on its side.

From 3,000 to 5,000 blacks were said to have accompanied General Cornwallis to Yorktown. Most of these blacks had been with Cornwallis's army for several months, and others joined shortly before the move into that city. They expected to become part of the British army or at least be shipped out of Virginia away from re-enslavement. However, as food and supplies became short and the damage done by American and French cannons got worse, Cornwallis forced thousands of blacks out of his camp. Many of these people were unarmed, given little or no food or water and were unfamiliar with the land. There are no records of the number of women and children who were also forced unprotected into the mostly open fields between the two armies. And there is no accurate account of the number who were forced to leave or who survived getting past the trenches of the Americans and French. Eyewitness accounts reported that most of these blacks were hunted down and killed. The actions by Cornwallis convinced many blacks in the South that the British were no more concerned about them as human beings than their colonial slaveowners. But at least the British did not enslave those who escaped and joined them.

Within a decade, the lives of many blacks changed drastically. Between 1775 and 1783, an estimated 100,000 slaves—one of every 5—escaped from their American masters. Between 1781 and 1783, it is estimated that at least 20,000 blacks left with the British troops. Most were resettled in the British Caribbean islands, Canada and England. Some were relocated to Sierra Leone in West Africa. Between 1775 and 1785, an estimated 65,000 blacks, mostly runaway slaves, were shipped from the American colonies or states to Kingston, Jamaica.

QUESTIONS:

1. Blacks played an important role on both sides during this war. What data above supports the important role that they played?

2. At first both the British and Continental leaders had some fears of freeing blacks to fight for their side. Why were they afraid?

3. The British tried hard after the war to fulfill their promise to those blacks who had come to their side. The data in the last paragraph reveals the minimum number of blacks who were taken from America either during or after the war. What do these figures reveal about the sincerity of the British to fulfill their promise?

65. LETTER FROM PAUL REVERE IN DEFENSE OF COLONIES REMAINING INDEPENDENT FROM BRITAIN

On July 1, 1782, Paul Revere wrote to his cousin John Rivoire in Guernsey, England. This resource includes part of his answer to a question from John urging America to rejoin Britain.

[The king and Parliament promised] the first settlers of this country that we should enjoy "all the Libertys of free natural born subjects of Great Britain." They were not contented to have all the benefit of our trade in short to have all our earnings, but they wanted to make us hewers of wood and drawers of water—their parliaments have declared "that they have a right to tax us, in all cases whatever"—now certainly if they have a right to take one shilling from us without our consent, they have a right to all we possess; for it is the birth right of an Englishman not to be taxed without the consent of himself or a Representative.

QUESTIONS:

1. According to the timeline of events, how many months before or after Cornwallis's surrender did Revere write this letter?

2. What are the three most important ideas that Paul Revere expresses in this letter to his cousin in England?

3. In what ways might the situation in the colonies in July 1782 have influenced Revere's position on remaining independent from Britain?

4. There is strong evidence to suggest that the colonists refused any plans to be represented either in Parliament or in a new government structure in the colonies. If this were accurate, would the position of Revere about "taxation without the consent of a representative" be justified?

66. THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE REACTS TO THE CONTINUATION OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA AFTER THE WAR

After the war, the Marquis de Lafayette wrote to John Adams of his concerns about slavery in America. He was especially worried that Americans preserved slavery after winning a war for the rights of all men. This excerpt from his letter reveals that, if had he known America would continue slavery after the war, he would not have fought on America's side. Lafayette was among a number of people in Europe who believed that the preservation of slavery in America was inconsistent with the fight for liberty and freedom that had just been won by the colonies. They thought it strange that Americans would fight not to be slaves to the king and Parliament and then condone slavery after the war.

"I would never have drawn my sword in this cause of America, could I have conceived that thereby I was founding a land of Slavery. In the cause of my black brethren, I feel myself warmly interested, and most decidedly side, so far as respects them, against the white part of mankind. Whatever be the complexion of the enslaved, it does not, in my opinion, alter the complexion of the crime which the enslaver commits—a crime much blacker than any African face. It is to me a matter of great anxiety and concern, to find that this trade [in slaves] is sometimes perpetuated under the flag of liberty, our dear and noble stripes [flag], to which virtue and glory have been constant standard-bearers."

QUESTIONS:

1. What role did the Marquis de Lafayette play in the American Revolutionary War?

2. Lafayette says that if he had known the Americans would keep slaves after the war, there was something he would not have done. What would he not have done?

3. For Lafayette, what group of people have committed "a crime much blacker than any African face"?

4. What does he believe should be done about slavery in America?

67. CIRCULAR LETTER TO THE STATE GOVERNORS

GEORGE WASHINGTON, JUNE 8, 1783

George Washington was very worried about the future of the United States if the government under the Articles of Confederation continued. Just before he gave up his position as Commander in Chief of the Army, he wrote a letter to all the governors in which he warned of problems under the articles. He suggested that the national government needed to be stronger and more powerful. He saw at stake the future of the United States of America.

There are four things, which I humbly conceive, are essential to the well being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States as an Independent Power:

1st. An indissoluble Union of the States under one Federal Head.

2dly. A Sacred regard to Public Justice.

3dly. The adoption of a proper Peace Establishment, and

4thly. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly Disposition, among the People of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the Community.

These are the Pillars on which the glorious Fabrick of our Independency and National Character must be supported; Liberty is the Basis, and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the Structure, under whatever specious pretexts he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration, and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured Country.

On the three first Articles I will make a few observations, leaving the last to the good sense and serious consideration of those immediately concerned.

Under the first head, altho' it may not be necessary or proper for me in this place to enter into a particular disquisition of the principles of the Union, and to take up the great question which has been frequently agitated, whether it be expedient and requisite for the States to delegate a larger proportion of Power to Congress, or not, Yet it will be a part of my duty, and that of every true Patriot, to assert without reserve, and to insist upon the following positions, That unless the States will suffer Congress to exercise those prerogatives, they are undoubtedly invested with by the constitution, every thing must very rapidly tend to Anarchy and confusion, That it is indispensable to the happiness of the individual States, that there should be lodged somewhere, a Supreme Power to regulate and govern the general concerns of the Confederated Republic, without which the Union cannot be of long duration. That there must be a faithfull and pointed compliance on the part of every State, with the late proposals and demands of Congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue, That whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the Union, or contribute to violate or lessen the Sovereign Authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the Liberty and Independency of America, and the Authors of them treated accordingly, and lastly, that unless we can be enabled by the concurrence of the States, to participate of the fruits of the Revolution, and enjoy the essential benefits of Civil Society, under a form of government so free and uncorrupted, so happily guarded against the danger of oppression, as has been devised and adopted by the Articles of Confederation, it will be a subject of regret, that so much blood and treasure have been lavished for no purpose, that so many sufferings have been encountered without compensation, and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain.

Many other considerations might here be adduced to prove, that without an entire conformity to the Spirit of the Union, we cannot exist as an Independent Power; it will be sufficient for my purpose to mention but one or two which seem to me the greatest importance. It is only in our united Character as an empire, that our Independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our Credit supported among Foreign Nations. The Treaties of the European Powers with the United States of America, will have no validity on a dissolution of the Union. We shall be left nearly in a state of Nature, or we may find by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression, from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of Tyranny; and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of Liberty abused to licentiousness.

QUESTIONS:

1. What four things did Washington say were essential to the existence of the United States as an independent power?

2. Washington was quite concerned about the future of the nation. What specific statements in this letter reveal his concerns?

3. From these statements what things did Washington fear most would happen in this country?

4. Based on what he says in this statement, what might have been Washington's definition of liberty?

5. What was Washington's view of arbitrary power?

6. If the government under the articles was not soon changed, what situation did Washington predict for the country?

7. What changes in the government under the Articles of Confederation did Washington propose?

68. CASUALTY AND DEATH TABLE

One way to get a sense of the violence and slaughter that occurred in this war is to examine the number of casualties and deaths. Exact figures are still not agreed upon because of the definitions used for each category, the accuracy of the recording systems used and the fact that a number of official documents were lost or destroyed, and so forth. The data in the table below reflect numbers from several sources and are consistent within a narrow range of most experts' estimates today.

Source: U.S. Department of Defense in Robert Famighetti (ed.), The world almanac and book of facts (Mahwah, N.J.: World Almanac Books, 1970), 184.

NA means not available.

CASUALTIES AND DEAD IN MAJOR WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

War	*Number serving*	*Battle deaths*	*Other deaths*	*Wounds not mortal*	TOTAL
Revolutionary War	NA	4,435	NA	6,188	NA
War of 1812	286,730	2,260	NA	4,505	6,765
Mexican War	78,718	1,733	11,550	4,152	17,435
Civil War	2,213,363	140,414	224,097	281,881	646,392
Spanish-American War	306,760	385	2,061	1,662	4,108
World War I	4,743,826	53,513	63,195	204,002	320,710
World War II	16,353,659	292,131	115,185	670,846	1,078,162
Korean War	5,764,143	33,651	NA	103,284	NA
Vietnam War	8,744,000	47,369	10,799	153,303	211,147
Persian Gulf War	467,539	148	145	467	760

QUESTIONS:

1. According to the table, how many American soldiers died during the American Revolutionary War?

2. The total number of American casualties does not includes those in local militias, minutemen and those who did not sign up in any official military unit. If all these men and women who died or were wounded were somehow identified, should they be included in the above list?

3. When counting the total number of American casualties for this war. Would you include Loyalists as Americans? Why or why not?

4. The population of the colonies in 1775 is estimated to have been about 2.9 million. Given the figure in the table, what percentage of the total population died in the Revolutionary War?

5. Nathan Hale was hung by the Crown forces as a traitor and spy for George Washington's Continental army. Should his death be included as an official war death? Why or why not?

6. What other American war had casualty and death totals closest to the American Revolutionary War?

69. IS THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION OVER?

The question of whether the American Revolution is over is one that has many answers. Not only is the definition of revolution contentious, but people also pay attention only to certain conditions or ideas in formulating their answers. This resource provides four individuals' views on this issue.

"There is nothing more common, than to [confuse] the . . . [dates and events] of the American Revolution with those of the late American war. The American [Revolutionary] War is over; but this is far from being the case with [the] American Revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed. It remains yet to establish and perfect our new forms of government.

"It is often said, 'that the sovereign and all other power is seated in the people.' This idea is unhappily expressed. It should be—'all power is derived from the people,' they possess it only on the days of their elections. After this, it is the property of their rulers; nor can they . . . resume it, unless it be abused.

"The people of America have mistaken the meaning of the word sovereignty; hence each state pretends to be sovereign. . . No individual state, as such, has any claim to independence. She is independent only in a union with her sister states in congress.

"I am extremely sorry to find a passion for retirement so universal among the patriots and heroes of the war. . . . Patriots of 1774, 1775, 1776—heroes of 1778, 1779, 1780! come forward! Your country demands your services! Philosophers and friends to mankind, come forward! Your country demands your studies and speculations! Lovers of peace and order, who declined taking part in the late war, come forward! Your country forgives your timidity and demands your influence and advice! Hear her proclaiming, in sighs and groans, in her governments, in her finances, in her trade, in her manufactures, in her morals, and in her manners, 'The Revolution Is Not Over!'"

Dr. Benjamin Rush, a Philadelphia doctor and statesman, just prior to the first meeting of the Constitutional Convention, May 1787

"What do we mean by the Revolution? The war? That [the war] was no part of the Revolution: [the war] was only an effect and consequence of it. The Revolution was in the minds of the people, and this was effected, from 1760 to 1775, in the course of fifteen years before a drop of blood was shed at Lexington. The records of the thirteen legislatures, the pamphlets, newspapers in all the colonies, ought to be consulted during that period to ascertain the steps by which the public opinion was enlightened and informed concerning the authority of Parliament over the colonies."

John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, 1815

"The phrase 'American Revolution' means more than the hostilities between England and thirteen of her colonies. It refers also to the social, economic, and political changes in the colonies that they [i.e., historians] presume caused, accompanied, or resulted from the conflict."

Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The American Revolution; the critical issues (1971)

"Historians today are no more in agreement upon the answers about the nature, causes, and consequences of the Revolution than were contemporary observers."

Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The American Revolution; the critical issues (1971)

QUESTIONS:

1. Define revolution.

2. Summarize the major ideas each of these individuals.

3. What would it mean to say that a revolution is over?

4. What evidence do you have that one of these views of the Revolution is more accurate than the other?

5. Based on the liberties and freedom that you have in your life today, would you say that the American Revolution was successful or is it still going on?

EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS AVAILABLE FROM
THE COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG FOUNDATION

The Department of School and Group Services is part of the Education Division of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. The goal of this department is to create customized interpretive programs which provide a structured learning environment tailored to teachers, students, and families. These programs are designed to improve the understanding of 18th century Virginia history and its impact on establishing a new republic.

STUDY VISITS

Colonial Williamsburg offers Study Visits for all grade levels. Each is a thought-provoking overview of daily life before the American Revolution. Students learn about the lives and choices of the men, women, and children, both free and enslaved, who inhabited the capital city of the largest British colony in North America. Your students will experience the ideas and dreams of both great and everyday people who lived and worked here in the decade before the American Revolution and will be stimulated to examine their ideas about the past and what it means to be an American. It is an experience with history they will never forget.
For more information or to reserve a study visit for your class, call 1-800-501-0061

SUMMER TEACHER INSTITUTE IN EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY

Designed for elementary and middle school social studies teachers who teach United States history, these intensive week-long workshops will immerse participants in early American history "on location" in Williamsburg, the restored capital city of eighteenth-century Virginia, and nearby Jamestown. Twenty teachers and a returning mentor teacher will be selected for each session.

Participants will be involved in an interdisciplinary approach to teaching social studies with colonial American history as the focus. Teachers will have the opportunity to exchange ideas with noted historians, meet character interpreters, and take part in reenactments of eighteenth-century events. They will review various interactive teaching techniques with a mentor teacher and with each other. Instructional materials in a variety of media will be provided to participants to use in their classrooms. Together with Colonial Williamsburg staff, teachers will prepare new instructional materials for use in their own classrooms.
To receive more information and an application for the Summer Teacher Institute in Early American History, contact:

Department of School and Group Services
The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
PO Box 627
Williamsburg, VA 23187

call: (757) 220-7582
fax: (757) 220-7708

ELECTRONIC FIELD TRIPS

Participation via live, interactive television for your school in one of our exciting field trips, comprehensive teaching materials, Internet activities, and follow-up support from Colonial Williamsburg's historians.

Call to Arms, Oct. 9, 1997	Revolution, as seen through the eyes of a young recruit	all ages
Order in the Court, Oct. 30, 1997	Dramatizations of juvenile justice in the 18th century	all ages
Don't Wanna Slave No More, Nov. 20, 1997	African-American Choices in the American Revolution: Will running away to fight for the British bring freedom	all ages
Church vs. State, Jan. 15, 1998	Religious freedom and the first amendment debated by adherents of Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson	high school
No Master Over Me, Feb. 19, 1998	Free blacks from 1774 through the Civil War	all ages
Backdraft, Mar. 19, 1998	The fire engine and civic duty in the colonial community	elementary, middle school
Discovering the Past, April 30, 1998	How archaeology allows us to piece together our history	elementary, middle school

For additional information and registration call: 800-761-8331

THE MILITARY AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Reproduction of the Virginia Bill of Rights As drawn originally by George Mason and adopted unanimously by the Convention of Delegates at the Capital at Williamsburg on June 12, 1776. Size (14" x 24")	#75747	$1.95
Reproduction of the Declaration Suitable for framing size (15" x 20")	#76869	$1.95
Reproduction of the Virginia Gazette Read the latest 18th-century news and advertisements	#140194	$2.00
The Revolutionary Soldier A complete guide to life as a soldier, this book is fully illustrated	#311316	$14.95
The Revolution in Virginia 1775-1783 A study of the political, administrative, and military history of Virginia during the American revolution Hardback edition.	#171280	$29.95

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Songs of Liberty #24950 $10.95
Music of the Revolutionary War. Songs include: "God Save the Thirteen States," "A Toast," and more.

Marching into Time #202754 cassette/#202119 CD $17.95
The Fifes and Drums of Colonial Williamsburg present 19 marches, tunes, and medleys.

GOVERNMENT

Cruel and Unusual Punishment #529651 $ [illegible]
Through the use of primary sources, students will discover how opinions have changed in the definition of cruel and unusual punishment. Grades 8-12.

Rights and Controversies #529644 $ 6.00
Students will become familiar with event leading to the revolution and their effects on individuals in the eighteenth-century. After analyzing primary sources, students will participate in a debate in which students will make the decision for independence. A grand union flag is included for the final decision. Grades 4-12

Let's Be Reasonable Lesson Plan #529628 $ 5.00
During the colonial times the British government reserved the right to search and seize homes and personal property. People today have strong opinions on how our rights are protected by the Fourth Amendment. The lesson includes primary sources, a reader's theater, and role play activity. Grades 8-12

To Bear or Not to Bear, The Second Amendment: Then and Now #530311 $ 4.50
Using primary sources, students will analyze eighteenth-century concerns over firearms in colonial times and compare them with the current debate today over the Second Amendment. Grades 8-12.

Primary Source Documents #529685 $20.00
Students will examine primary documents and analyze their significance in the events leading to the decision to declare independence from Great Britain.. The lesson plan includes the following facsimile documents, A Summary View of the Rights of British America, A Day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer, An Association, Proclamation, May 6, 1775, A Proclamation, November 7, 1775, and Virginia Declaration of Rights.

Order in the Court-An Eighteenth-Century Trial #529677 $ 5.00
Juvenile Justice in the 18th-Century Video from the Electronic Field Trip Series
The Colonial legislative process, crime and punishment are presented in this unit. Students role play a colonial court case after investigating the court system and those with significant parts in a documented eighteenth-century case. Grades 4-12

Backdraft The Fire Engine in the Colonial Community
Video from the Electronic Field Trip Series $49.95
Emphasizing the civic responsibility of residents living in the colonial community to maintain the safety and welfare of others, this video focuses on the colonial fire engine as a symbol of communal cooperation Grades 4-8.

Let America Speak $49.95
Our Voice as Our Vote Video from the Electronic Field Trip Series
Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and their 20th century counterparts, Gov. L. Douglas Wilder of Virginia and Sen. John Ashcroft of Missouri, debate the electoral process and the role of the federal government in a democratic republic. Grades 8-12.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN LIFE

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade #529776 $11.00
Students will explore the conditions of the Trans Atlantic voyage by viewing a slide depicting an 18th-century slave trading scene and examining personal accounts from a slave, the ship's captain and a doctor. Role playing activities. The book, Classic Slave Narratives and the slide, Trait de Negres are included. Grades 4-8

The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg #46946 $9.50
An in-depth study on the lives of the black population in Williamsburg during the 18th century.

Slavery in the Colonial Chesapeake #105775 $9.95
Slavery in the Chesapeake region from 1619 to the Revolutionary War
Teacher's Guide #125161 $19.00

African-Americans in 18th Century Virginia #529750 $16.00
Using the 18th-century print, "The Old Plantation" and over 30 accounts of slave advertisements, students will build and support their analysis of slave life and the slaves' ability to adapt to it. Grades 4-12

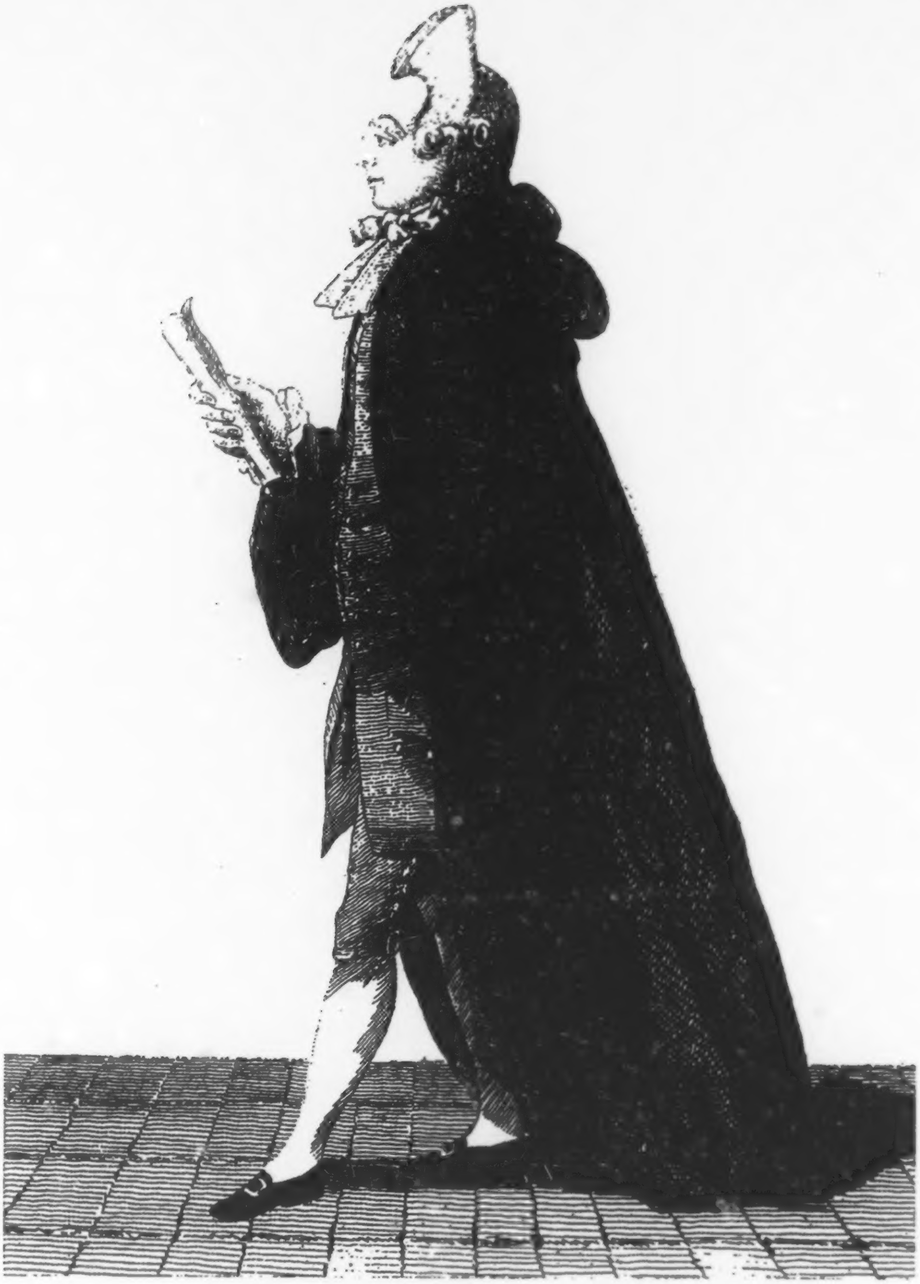
Of Kith and Kin Trials and Triumphs of African-American Family Life $49.95
Video from the Electronic Field Trip Series
A fascinating glimpse into African-American life as seen through the eyes of a slave named "Paris." Using storytelling techniques and flashbacks, Paris educates a group of slave children on traditions and dilemmas. Grades 4-12.

Under African Skies
A collection of African and African -American stories. #288910 cassette $10.95

For more information or to purchase, please contact: Address:

Educational Resource Center,
P.O. Box 627
Williamsburg, VA 23187

Call: (757) 220-7497
Fax: (757) 565-859
E-Mail: edresource@cwf.org,



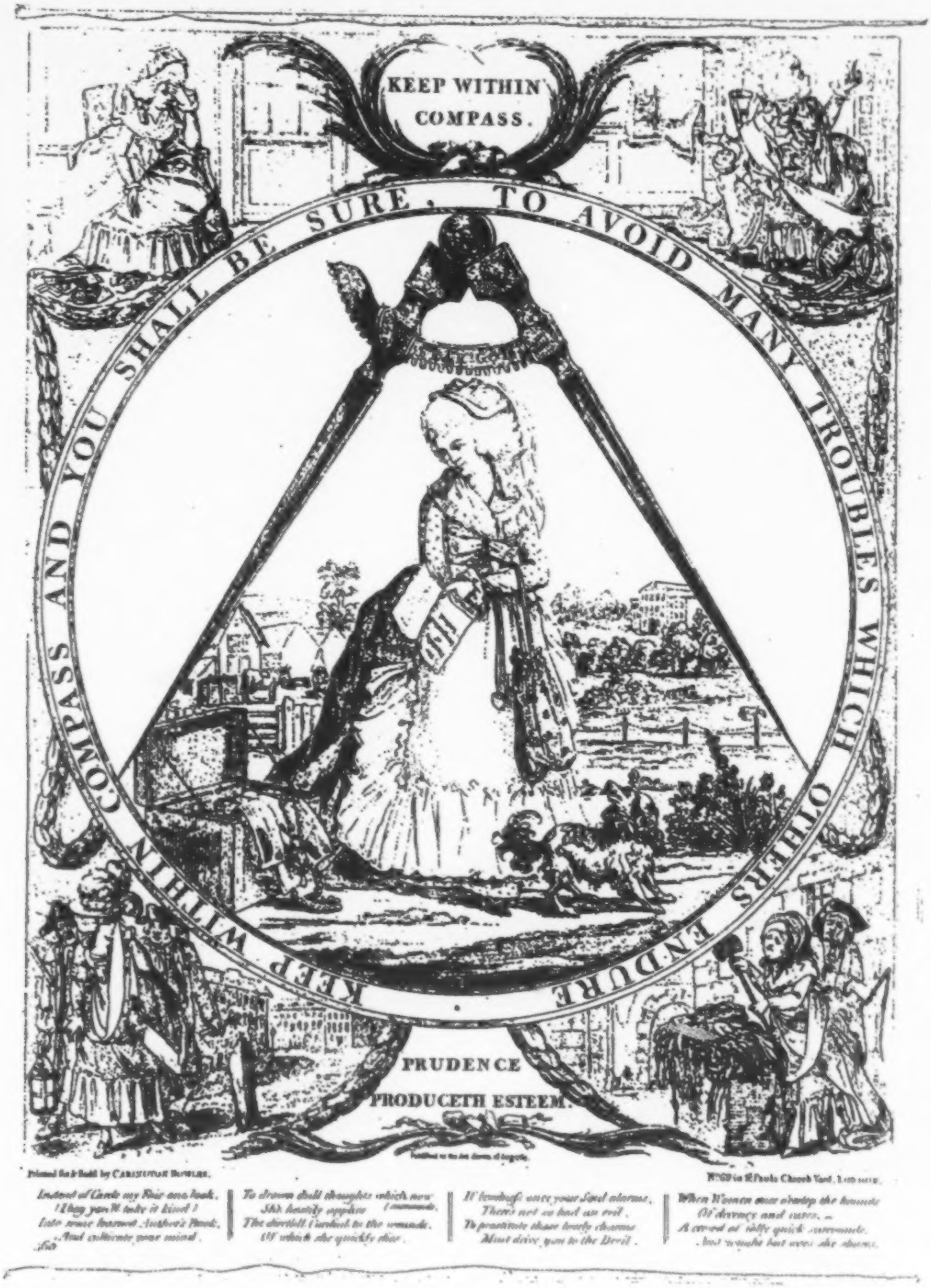
A LAW MACARONI

By the 1760s, the word macaroni was used to refer to a young male who had traveled to the European continent and had accepted some of the lifestyle, fashion and ideas he had found there. This term was often used in England to denote someone who had given up some of his former British way of life in favor of a lifestyle and tastes that mirrored those across the English Channel. These men were known to wear a large white wig with one or more fancy curls that reminded many of pasta macaroni found in Italy. In time the word macaroni was used to label individuals who were known to favor foreign styles and ideas rather than those found in England or who thought they were better than a typical Englishman because they had different ideas than most people in England.

A print published by Matthew Darly in London. February 16,1772. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, No. 19-0961, Neg. No. C-8055.

PBS VIDEO

BEST COPY AVAILABLE


KEEP WITHIN COMPASS.
KEEP WITHIN COMPASS AND YOU SHALL BE SURE, TO AVOID MANY TROUBLES WHICH OTHERS ENDURE
PRUDENCE PRODUCETH ESTEEM.

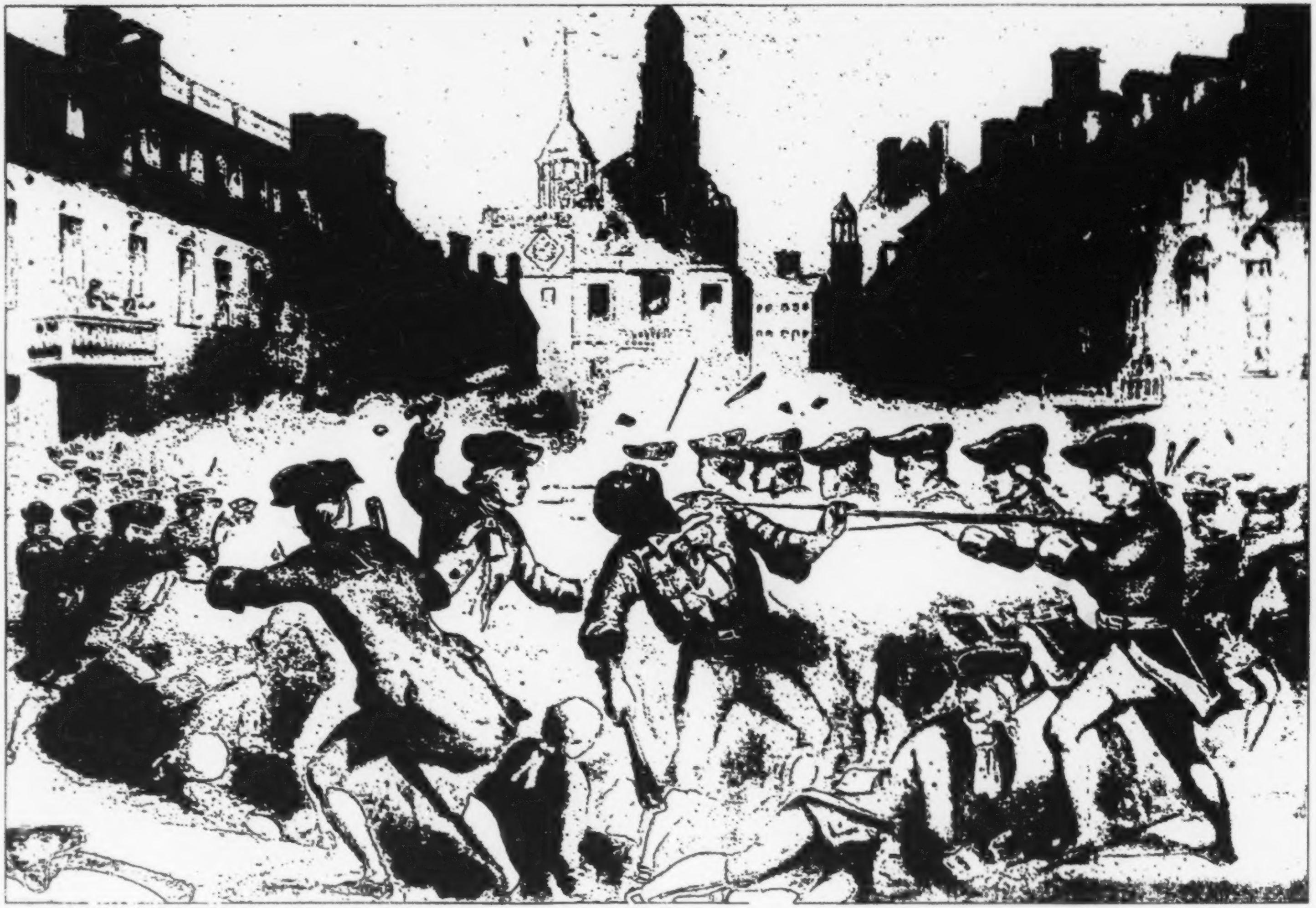
KEEP WITHIN [THE] COMPASS AND YOU SHALL BE SURE TO AVOID MANY TROUBLES WHICH OTHERS ENDURE

Prior to and during the revolutionary era, women were viewed as major role models for many positive values and virtues of the time. The expression "keep within the compass" meant to stay focused and not go astray from a true course of virtue, goodness and morality. The scenes outside the circle represent what would happen to women who lost their way to the temptations and vices of the world. Pay special attention to the words that are included in this drawing. They all represent key virtues and ideas many colonists and people in England identified with women.

No. 60 in St. Paul's Churchyard. Printed by Carington Bowles. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, No. 1958-629, 1, Neg. No., C-85-158.

PBS VIDEO

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

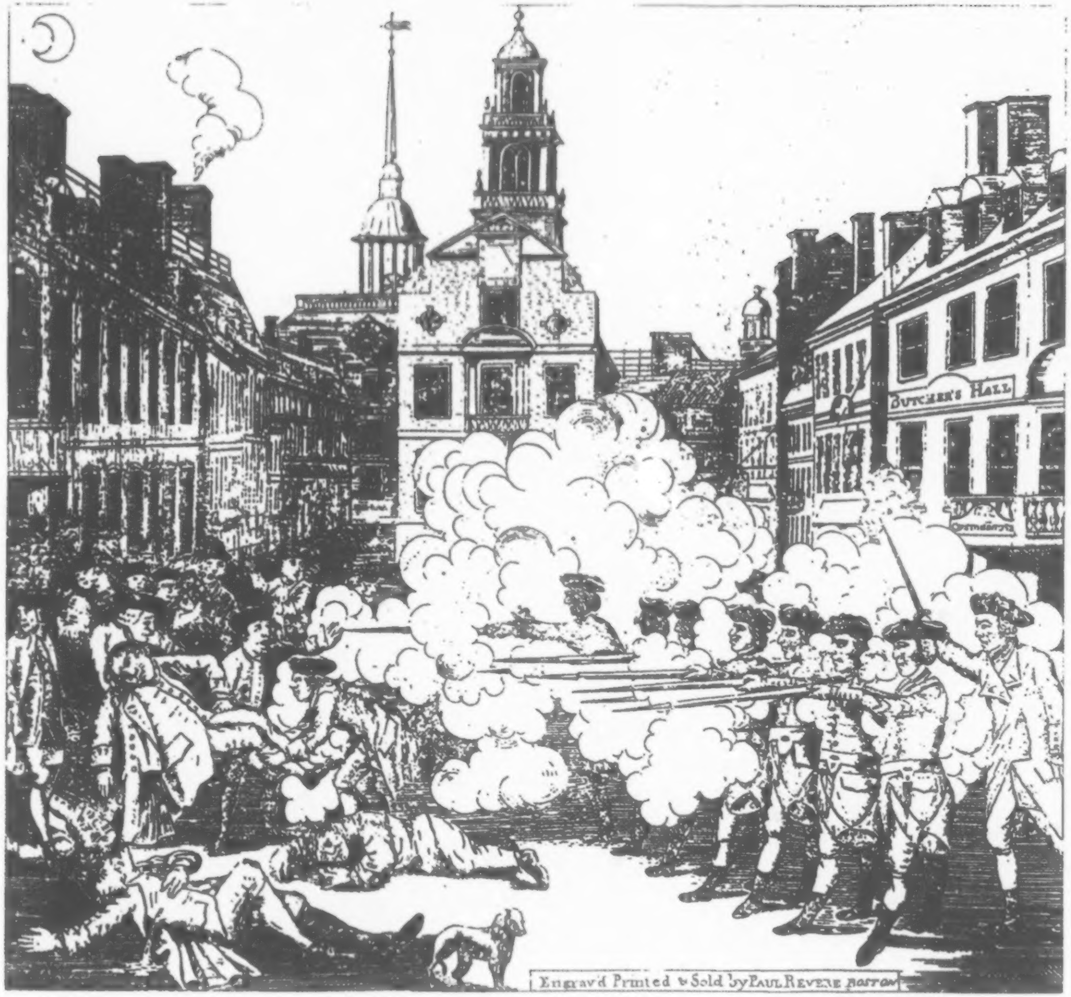


THE BOSTON MASSACRE. MARCH 5, 1770

This print captures the events on King Street shortly after 9:00 P.M. on March 5, 1770. It represents a very different version of the events that evening than the one depicted by Paul Revere in his engraving published within days of the incident.

A chromolithograph by John H. Bufford, 1856, from a drawing by W. Champney. Library of Congress, No. 69-N-4877-C.

PBS VIDEO


Butcher's Hall
Engrav'd Printed & Sold by PAUL REVERE BOSTON

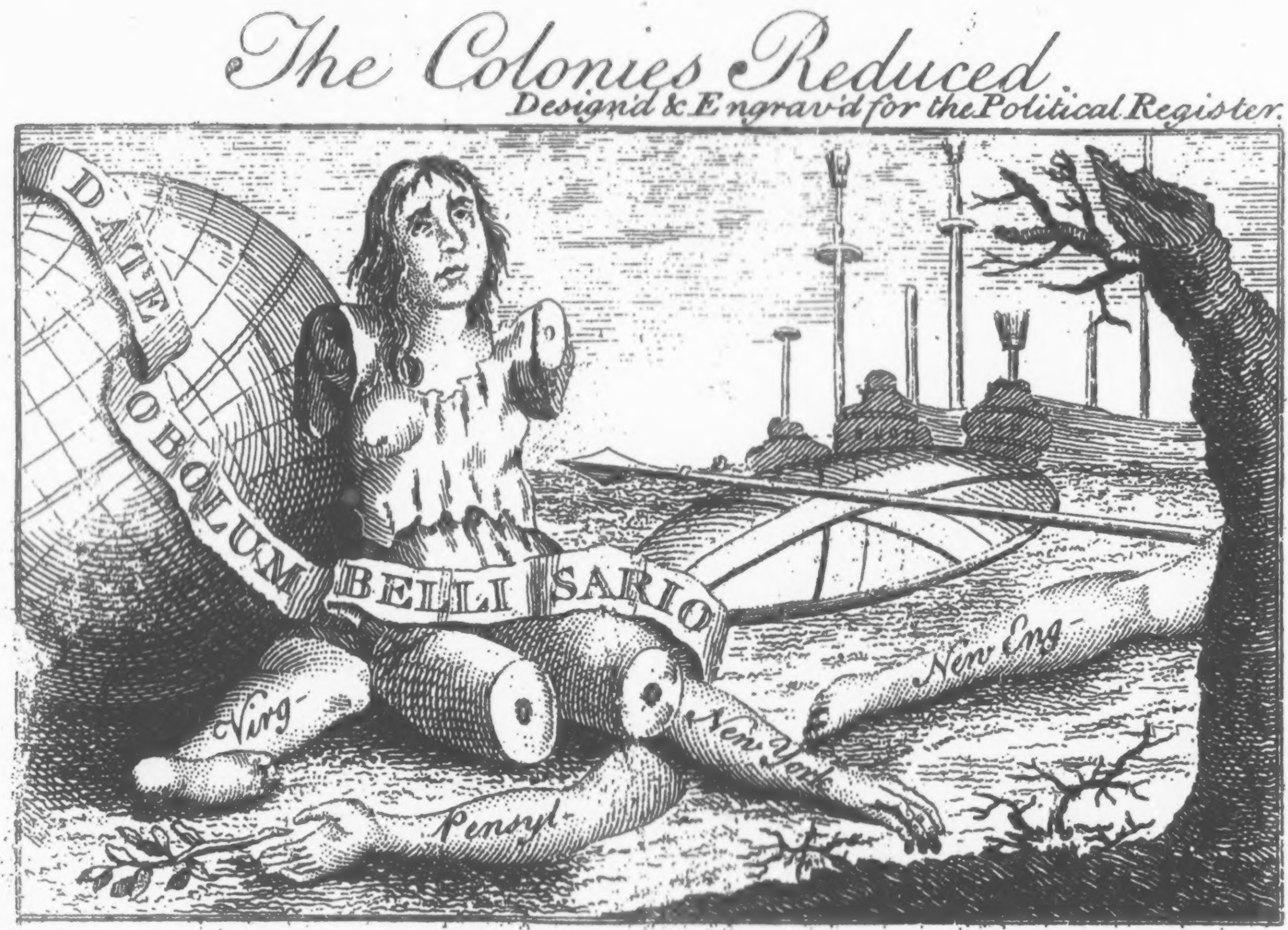
THE BLOOD MASSACRE PERPETUATED IN KING STREET BOSTON ON MARCH 5, 1770 BY A PARTY OF THE 29TH REGIMENT

This print depicts a very biased and inaccurate account of the events on King Street shortly after 9 P.M. on March 5, 1770. The wounded and dead on the left are portrayed as peaceful bystanders rather than the angry and rowdy group that cursed, insulted and threatened the lives of the soldiers. The soldiers fired but one round into the group. They did not fire in unison as this engraving illustrates. Whether Paul Revere was trying to portray the results of the one round of shots that was fired or a second round fired at a group already reacting to the dead and wounded is not certain. Numerous accounts and a later jury decision stated that the commanding officer of the day, Captain Preston, did not order his troops to fire. In fact many colonists testified Preston did everything he could to calm his soldiers and prevent them from shooting even one round. He certainly prevented his men from firing again or using their bayonets. Revere portrays Preston as an officer encouraging his men to fire on peaceful, unarmed citizens. This engraving also depicts a rifle being fired from a window behind the soldiers. Several witnesses said they saw a gun in the window and that gun either fired the first shot or fired at the same time as the soldiers fired. There was no evidence presented after March 5th, including at the trials of the officers and soldiers, that supported the story of a gun at a window. Another interesting point is that Crispus Attucks, part Native American and part African-American, appears to have been left out of Revere's version of the massacre.

This engraving was made and printed in a hurry so that the leaders of the protest against Parliament and the royal officials could get their version of what happened out to the people before any other story reached them. This picture reinforced the idea that English soldiers just like Parliament and other royal officials were aggressors against law-abiding and peaceful citizens. Revere knew what he was doing when he constructed this picture of the events of that evening. He produced an image that many people even today believe accurately depicts what happened.

A print made from an engraving by Paul Revere from a drawing attributed to Henry Pelham. The original was engraved and printed by Paul Revere, Boston, Massachusetts, 1770. Library of Congress, No. 111-SC-92632. Also available from the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

PBS VIDEO


The Colonies Reduced
Design'd & Engrav'd for the Political Register.
DATE OBOLUM BELLI SARIO
Virg-
Pensyl
New York
New Eng-

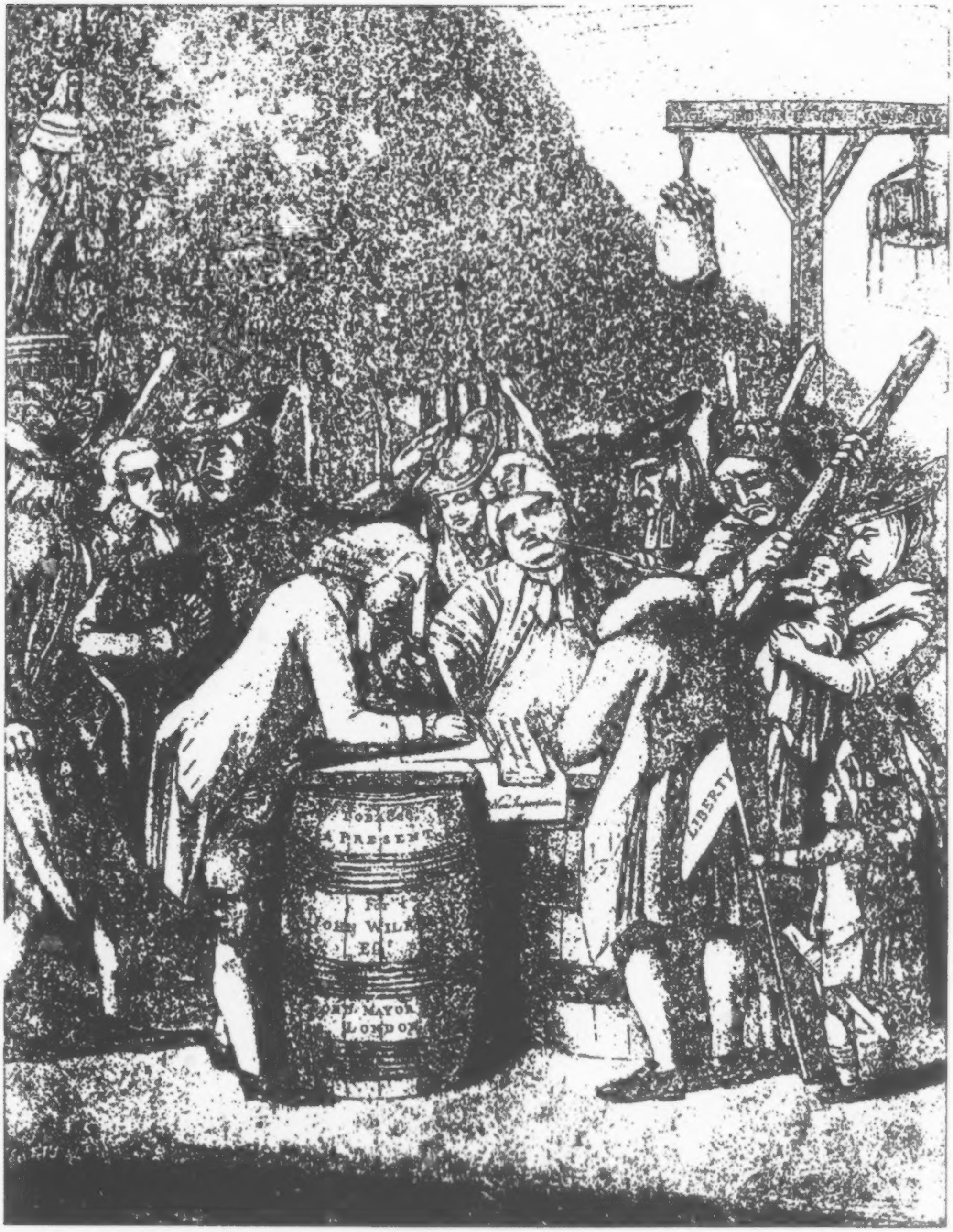
THE COLONIES REDUCED

The woman represents the British Empire. Her cut off arms and legs inscribed with "Virg"-[inia], "Pennsyl"-[vania], "New York" and "New Eng"-[land] signify the separation or breaking away of these colonies from the whole that was the empire. The figure seems to be either crying or in a state of shock as she leans against a globe that may represent to fact that Britain's empire stretched to every region of the world. The label across the globe and figure says "Date Obolum Belli Sario." The upside down brooms tied to the mast-heads of the ships is a symbol that the ships are either for sale or should be sold.

The original design for this drawing was proposed by Benjamin Franklin in 1767 during his extended stay in England. An altered version appeared in 1774. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, No. 1960-39, Neg. No. 7980.

PBS VIDEO

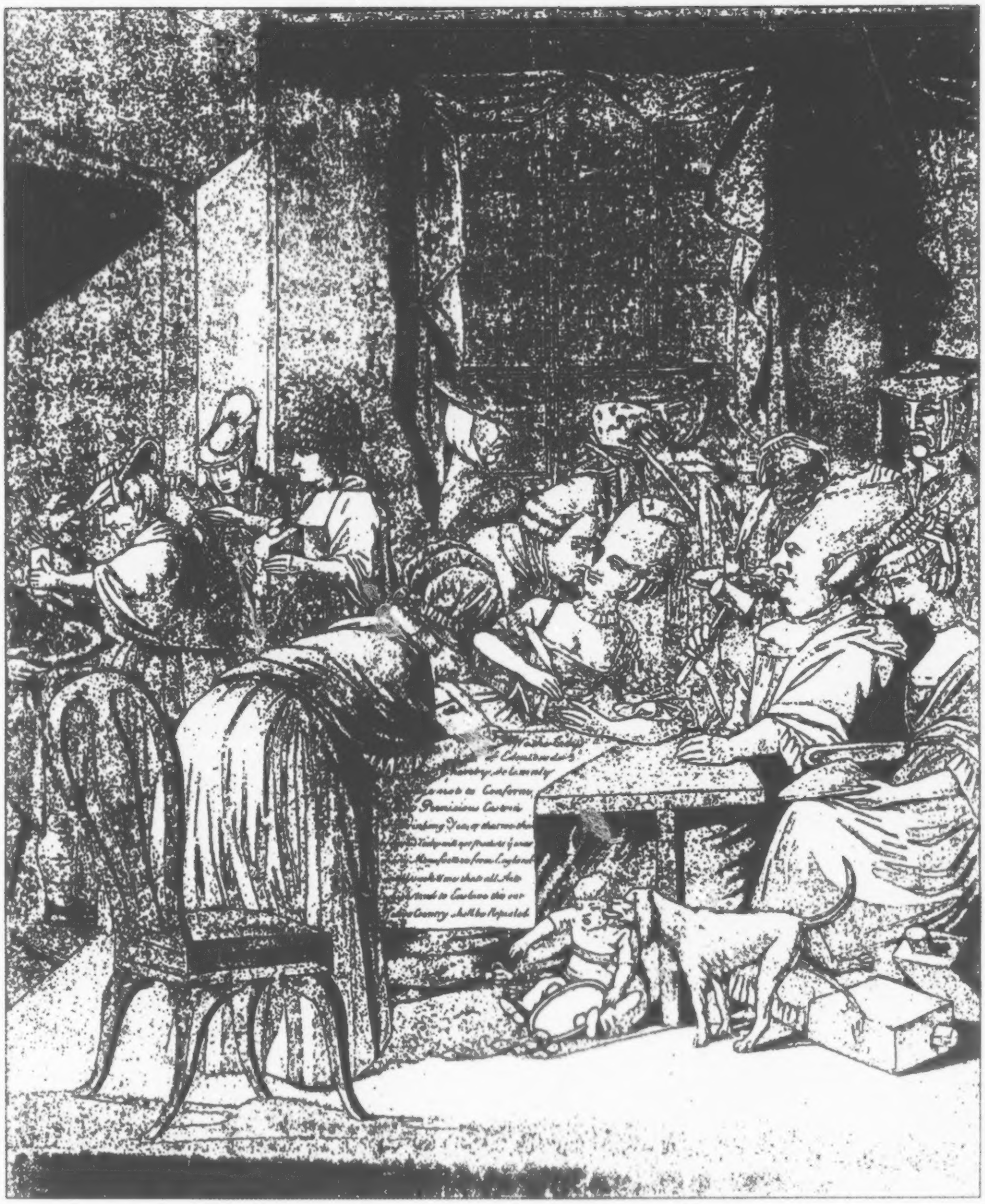
BEST COPY AVAILABLE



THE ALTERNATIVE OF WILLIAMSBURG

In the summer of 1774, many Loyalists in Virginia were forced to choose between three alternatives. One choice was to sign the Association, which meant they pledged to join in the boycott of buying English goods or sending specific raw materials to England to be made into finished products. A second option was to agree to follow the resolutions approved by the Williamsburg Convention of August 1774. The alternative to these was to risk bodily harm or attacks on their property or family. In this picture, the Loyalist bending over the barrel clearly is not pleased to choose one of the first two alternatives. The expressions on the faces of the people surrounding him and the items they are carrying make it clear that either of these choices is a better alternative than refusing to sign. Refusing to sign usually meant at least being tarred and feathered. This cartoon represents the situation in Williamsburg from the view of people in England sympathetic to the Loyalists and their rights as citizens of the British Empire.

Drawing attributed to Philip Dawe, England. Cartoon in mezzotint, published by Robert Sayer and J. Bennett, London, February 16, 1775. Library of Congress, No 148-GW-438. Copies are also available from the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.



A SOCIETY OF PATRIOTIC LADIES AT EDENTON IN NORTH CAROLINA

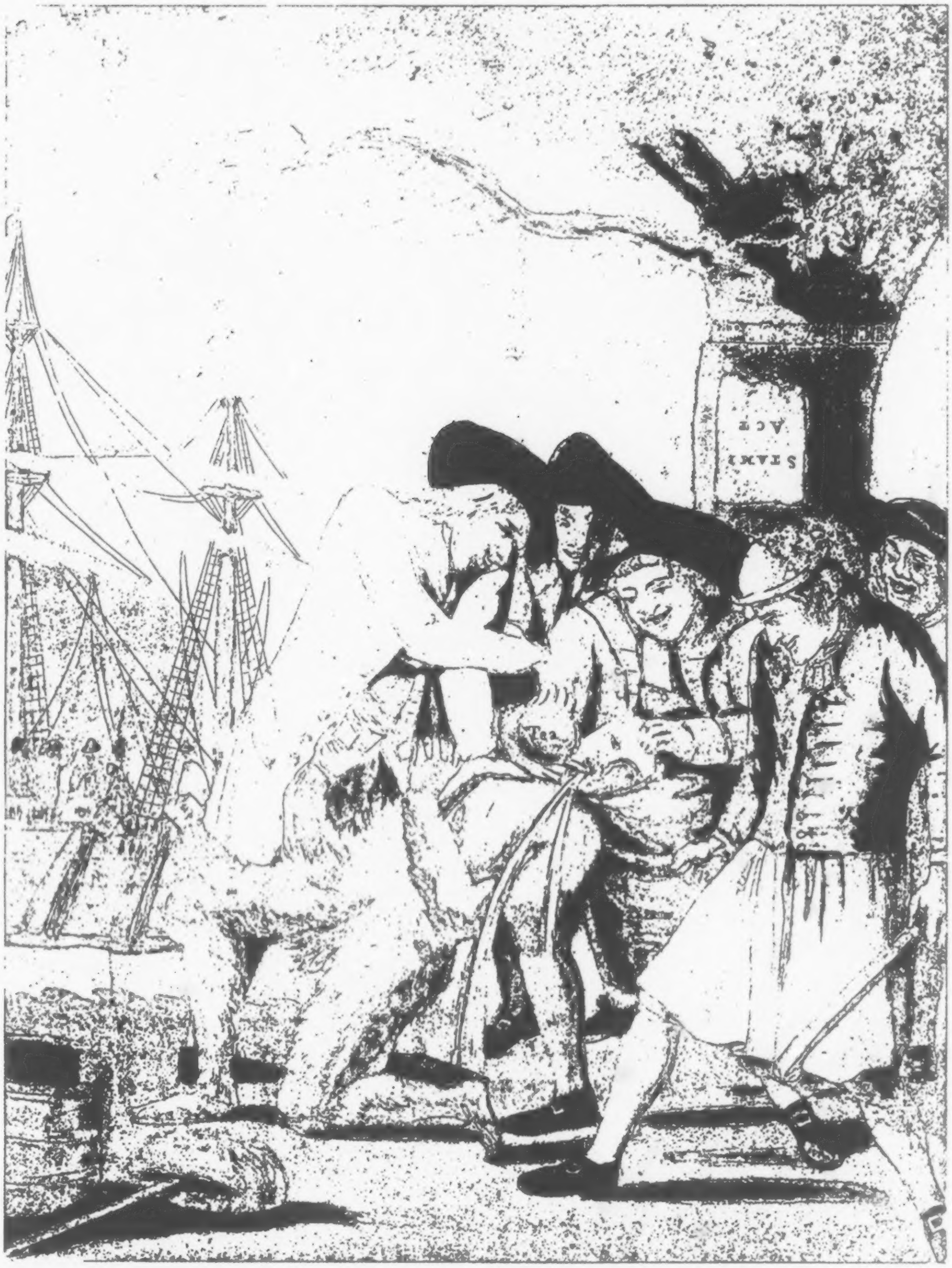
Many women showed their support of the resistance to the policies of Parliament. For instance, on October 25, 1774, a group of fifty-one women in Edenton, North Carolina, had their own political meeting in the home of Penelope Barker. These women agreed to stop drinking English tea and drink raspberry tea instead. They also agreed to stop buying cloth that was manufactured in England.

In this drawing, these women are signing a document that reads: "We the Ladys of Edenton do hereby Solemny Engage not to conform to that Pernicious Custom of Drinking Tea, or that we the aforesaid Ladys will not promote ye wear[ing] of any Manufacture from England untill such time that all Acts which tend to Enslave this our Native Country shall be repealed."

This drawing was a satire of colonial women in high society in the Southern colonies who were participating in political meetings and taking actions in support of the rebel cause. It was also a direct ridicule of the ladies of Edenton and their decision to join together to ban the drinking of tea. In England at this time, social customs prevented women from talking about politics and being involved in political activities. Many citizens in England thought it was silly or unnatural for women in America to be involved in these things, much less a group of women making political and economic decisions on their own.

Today visitors to Edenton can enter the Barker home which was moved in 1952 from its original site.

Drawing may have been done by Philip Dawe, London, England. Published March 25, 1775. Printed by Robert Sayer and J.Bennett, No. 53 in Fleet Street. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, No. 1960-126, Neg. No. C-8116.



THE BOSTONIANS PAYING THE EXCISE-MAN, OR TARRING AND FEATHERING

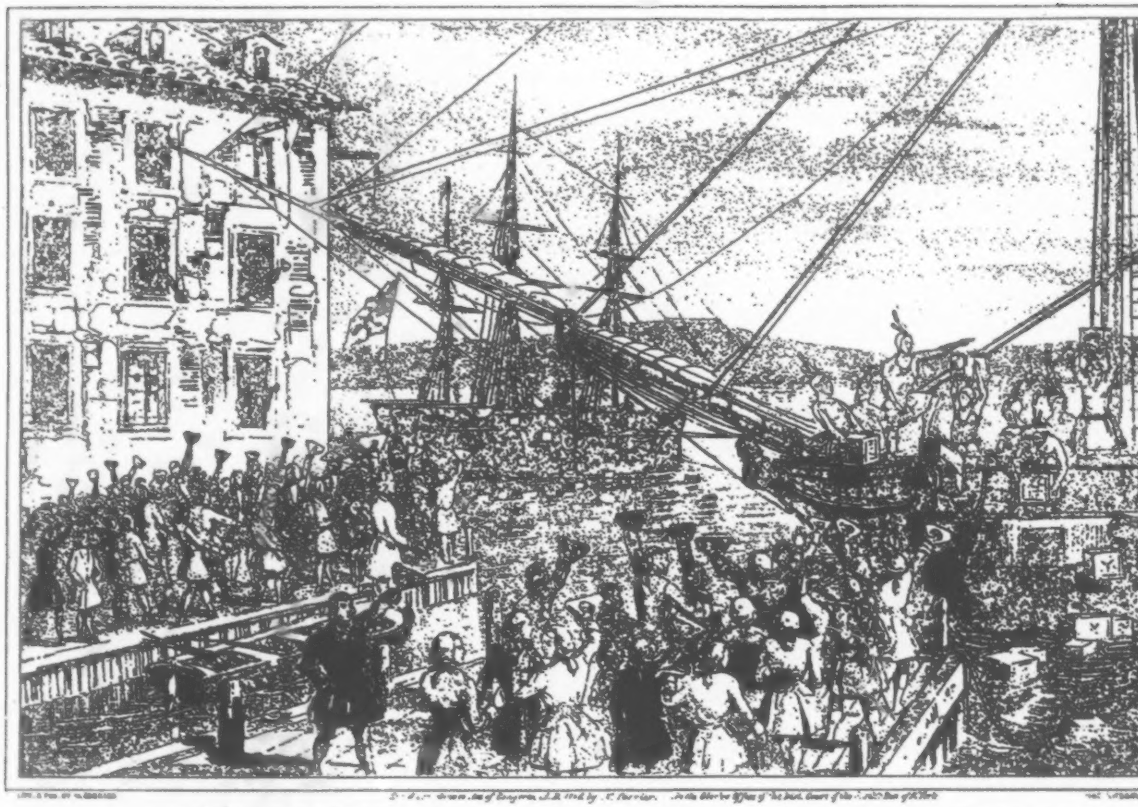
The drawing depicts a number of Boston citizens forcing tea down the throat of a royal taxman whom they had tarred and feathered. The man being forced to drink was John Malcomb, Boston's very unpopular commissioner of customs. The tea, tar and feathers represent their payment to the taxman in protest against the taxes passed by Parliament and Parliament's efforts to collect these taxes.

This cartoon is a satire of the Bostonians who are forcing their views on and engaging in illegal behaviors against a helpless royal official.

The Bostonians seem to be enjoying what they are doing under their infamous Liberty Tree. Look for other parts of the cartoon that satires the Bostonians and their attitudes.

Probably by Philip Dawe. London, England. October 31, 1774. Printed for Robert Sayer & J. Bennett, Map and Printsellers. No. 53 Fleet Street. This image was copied on stone by D.C. Johnston from the original print of 1774. This particular lithograph was printed by Pendleton of Boston, 1830. Library of Congress, No. 148-GW-436. Copies are also available from Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

PBS VIDEO



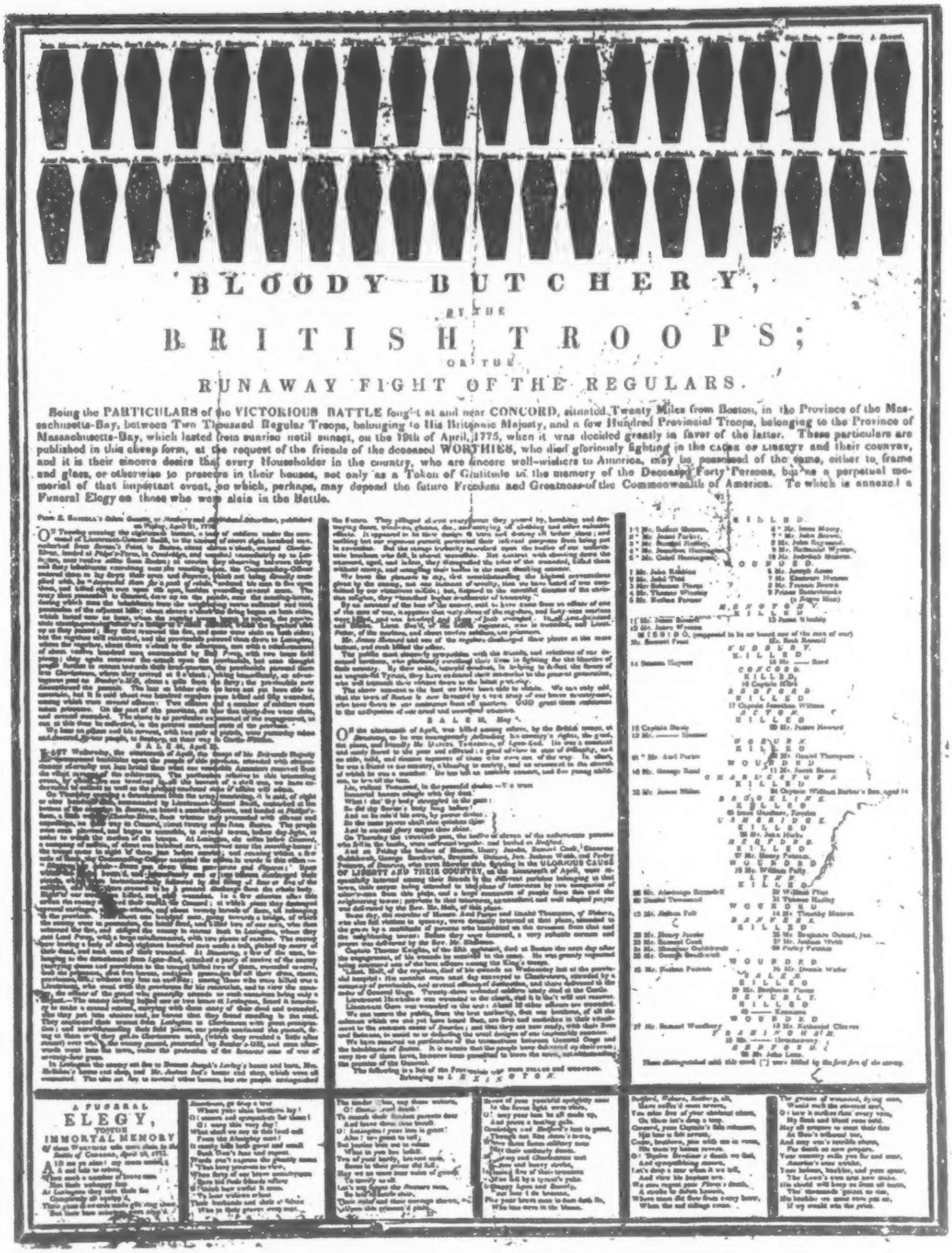
THE DESTRUCTION OF TEA AT BOSTON HARBOR.

THE DESTRUCTION OF TEA AT BOSTON HARBOR DECEMBER 16, 1773

During the night of December 16, 1773, the three ships carrying tea and anchored to Griffin's Wharf were boarded by thiry to sixty men from Massachusetts, some dressed as Mohawk Indians. This boarding took place within minutes of the ending of meeting of nearly 5,000 colonists who had gathered to protest the tea tax. Within hours of boarding, forty-five tons of tea in 342 boxes were tossed over board with little damage done to the ships and no harm done to the men who were on board. No other part of the ships' cargoes was touched.

A lithograph by Savony and Major, 1846. Library of Congress, No. 148-GW-439.

PBS VIDEO



BLOODY BUTCHERY,

BY THE

BRITISH TROOPS;

OR THE

RUNAWAY FIGHT OF THE REGULARS.

Being the PARTICULARS of the VICTORIOUS BATTLE fought at and near CONCORD, situated Twenty Miles from Boston, in the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, between Two Thousand Regular Troops, belonging to His Britannic Majesty, and a few Hundred Provincial Troops, belonging to the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, which lasted from sunrise until sunset, on the 19th of April, 1775, when it was decided greatly in favor of the latter. These particulars are published in this cheap form, at the request of the friends of the deceased WORTHIES, who died gloriously fighting in the CAUSE OF LIBERTY and their COUNTRY, and it is their sincere desire that every Householder in the country, who are sincere well-wishers to America, may be possessed of the same, either to frame and glass, or otherwise to preserve in their houses, not only as a Token of Gratitude to the memory of the Deceased Forty Persons, but as a perpetual memorial of that important event, on which, perhaps, may depend the future Freedom and Greatness of the Commonwealth of America. To which is annexed a Funeral Elegy on those who were slain in the Battle.

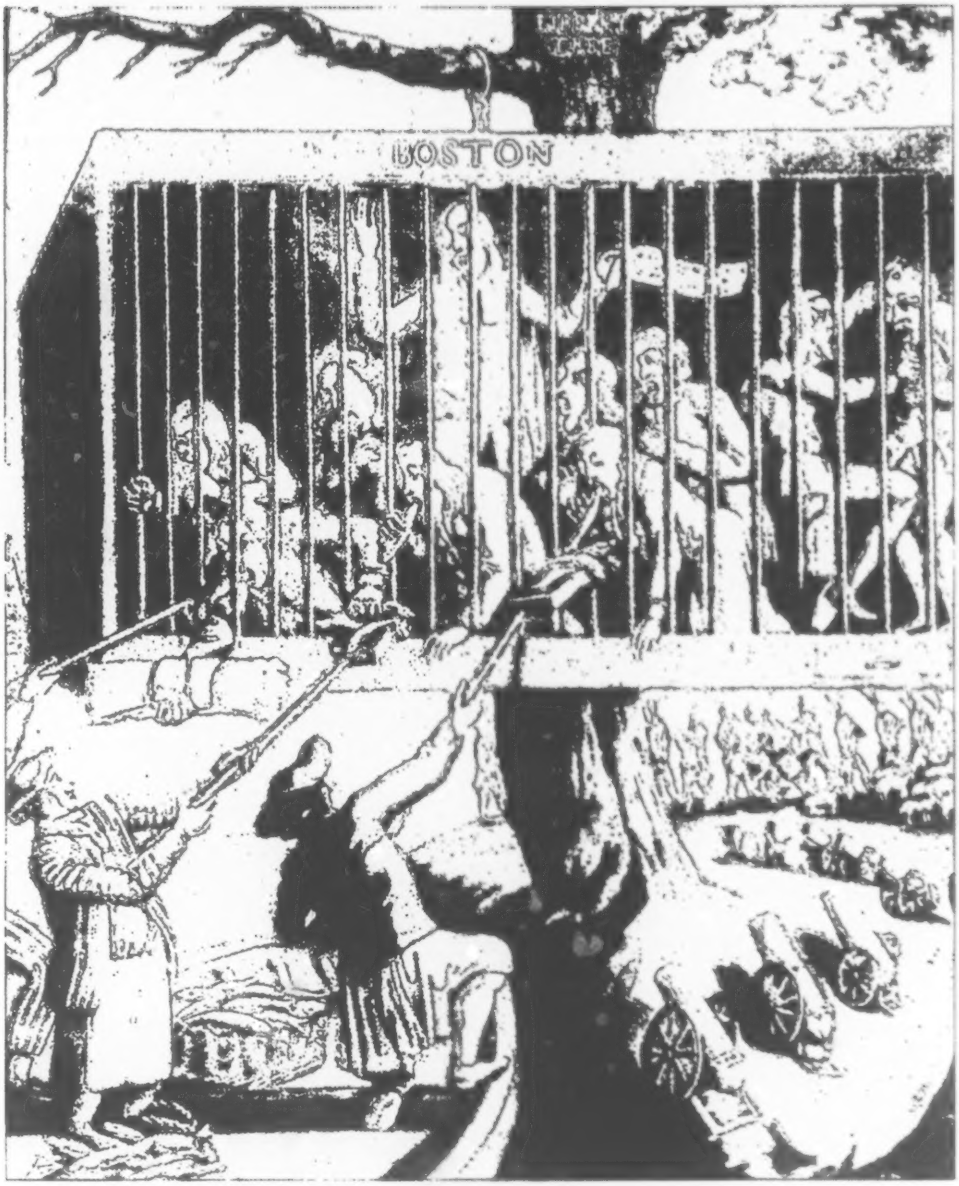
A FUNERAL ELEGY, TO THE IMMORTAL MEMORY

A BLOODY BUTCHERY BY THE BRITISH TROOPS:
OR, THE RUNAWAY FIGHT OF THE REGULARS.

This broadside was published in Salem, Massachusetts, within days of the fighting at Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775. The names of forty colonists who were known to have died and twenty wounded are listed on the right side. An elegy to the immortal memory of those who died is included at the bottom. There are other obvious features of this broadside that make it quite clear that part of the purpose of this publication was to increase the tension between the colonists and the army and gain the support of people in the colonies to support the defense of their lives, property and liberty. Later research found that 73 regulars or officers were killed and 174 were wounded as a result of all the fighting that took place from shortly after dawn to nearly midnight that day. For the colonists, 49 were confirmed dead and 41 were wounded.

From E. Russell's Salem Gazette or Newbury or Marblehead Advertiser, *published on Friday, April 21, 1775. Author and printer of this broadside is unknown. Salem, Massachusetts, 1775. Reprinted with permission from* The Bostonian Society.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



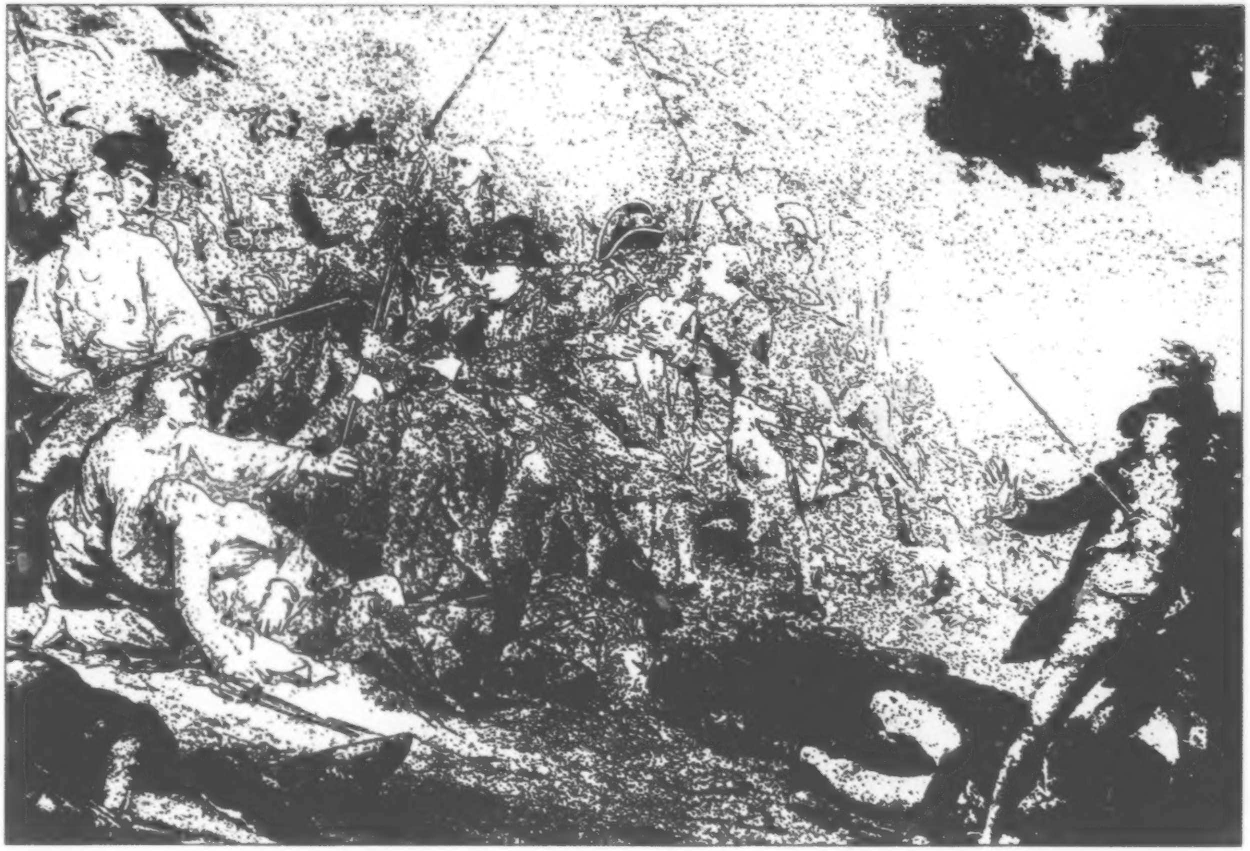
THE BOSTONIANS IN DISTRESS

This drawing was completed after the enforcement of the Coercive Acts (or Intolerable Acts) in Boston. The city of Boston is represented by the cage; the people inside are Bostonians. The people inside are lean as though starving. They are being fed by a few people outside the cage who are able to get through the barriers to keep the Bostonians alive. The cage hangs from a branch of the Liberty Tree. The tree grows in the center of Boston which is also represented by the peninsula. Boston's Liberty Tree did grow in the middle of its town common and Boston was located on a peninsula. The man standing in the cage holds a paper that says: "They cried unto the Lord in their Trouble & he saved them out of their Distress. Psalm cvii. 13." This statement suggests the Bostonians perceived themselves as God's chosen people. The cannons and armed soldiers represent the Royal Army that occupied the city and made Bostonians like prisoners in their own city. The cannons are pointed at the Liberty Tree. Meanwhile, four ships represent the Royal Navy anchored offshore to close off the city and intimidate the citizens. From the nearby gallows is hung a sack of feathers and barrels of dripping tar. The sign on the gallows reads "A cure for the Refractory." A little boy holds a flag inscribed with "Liberty." One of the two barrels is inscribed with the words "Tobacco. A present for John Wilkes, Esquire, Lord Mayor of London."

This drawing is a satire of Bostonians and their efforts to hold on to liberty in the midst of the occupation by the Royal Army and Navy. The drawing is best interpreted through the viewpoint of those in England who supported Parliament and the king and were sharply dissatisfied with the behavior of the citizens of Boston.

Joh. Merlin Will excudit Aug. (Augsburg) vend. London, England. Published November 19, 1774. Printed by R. Sayer and J. Bennett, Map and Printsellers, 1775, No. 53 in Fleet Street. Library of Congress, No. 148-GW-437. This image is also available from the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

PBS VIDEO



BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL, JUNE 16, 1775

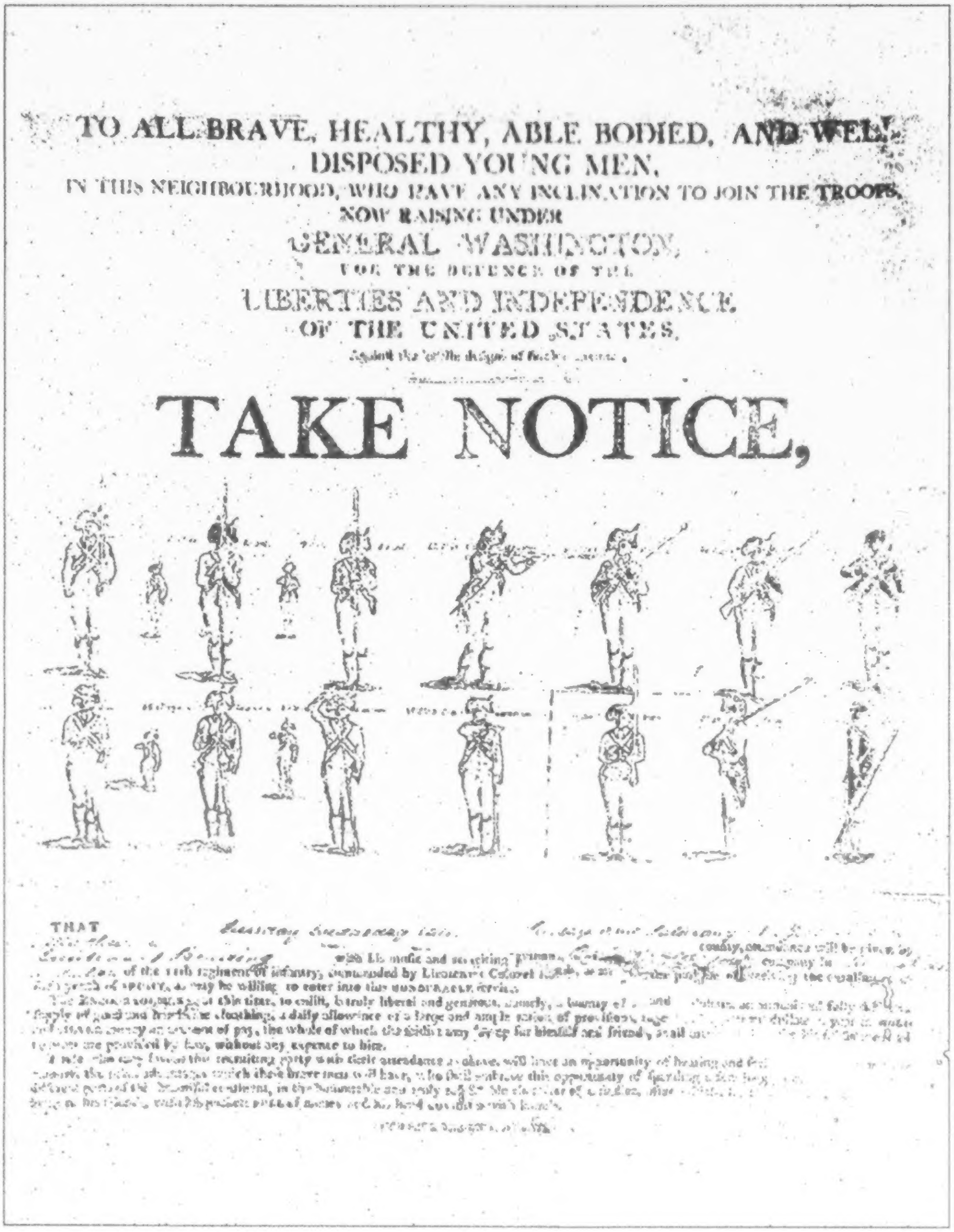
The fighting just outside of Charlestown, Massachusetts, on the Charlestown Peninsula on June 16, 1775, is remembered most as the Battle of Bunker Hill although the most strategic hill and scene of the most fighting was actually along the slopes of and on top of Breed's Hill, a short distance from Bunker Hill.

In late afternoon, after several hours of battle and enduring the heat and humidity of a typical Boston summer day, the regulars striped to their shirt sleeves, laid down much of their backpacks and stormed up the hill. This last charge occurred just as many colonists ran out of ammunition and began retreating. The victory was costly for the regulars. The suffered 226 dead and 828 wounded, most of whom died later of these wounds. The colonists had 140 killed and 271 wounded. While the regulars claimed victory for taking control of the land, the colonists claimed victory for having fought the regulars to a standstill until their ammunition ran out. The idea that the colonists could stand up to the great British army was a major result of this battle. Another major result was the realization on the part of the British that they had a full scale war on their hands.

Many people remember the famous words uttered by Captain William Prescott, "Don't fire until you see the whites in their eyes." This was not a call to courage. Rather, due to the inaccuracies of the muskets used at this time, the chances were small that one could hit a target that more than fifty yards away. So the enemy had to be close enough to have a good chance of hitting him. Waiting for the regulars to get close enough so one could see the white in their eyes was a practical command to give to a group of men, most of whom had never fired at another person in their lives. In addition, this command would help save ammunition which was in short supply among the defenders of Bunker and Breed's Hills.

Engraving from a painting by John Turnbull. Library of Congress, No. 148-GW-454.

PBS VIDEO



TO ALL BRAVE, HEALTHY, ABLE BODIED, AND WELL DISPOSED YOUNG MEN,
IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD, WHO HAVE ANY INCLINATION TO JOIN THE TROOPS,
NOW RAISING UNDER
GENERAL WASHINGTON,
FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE
LIBERTIES AND INDEPENDENCE
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Against the hostile designs of foreign enemies,

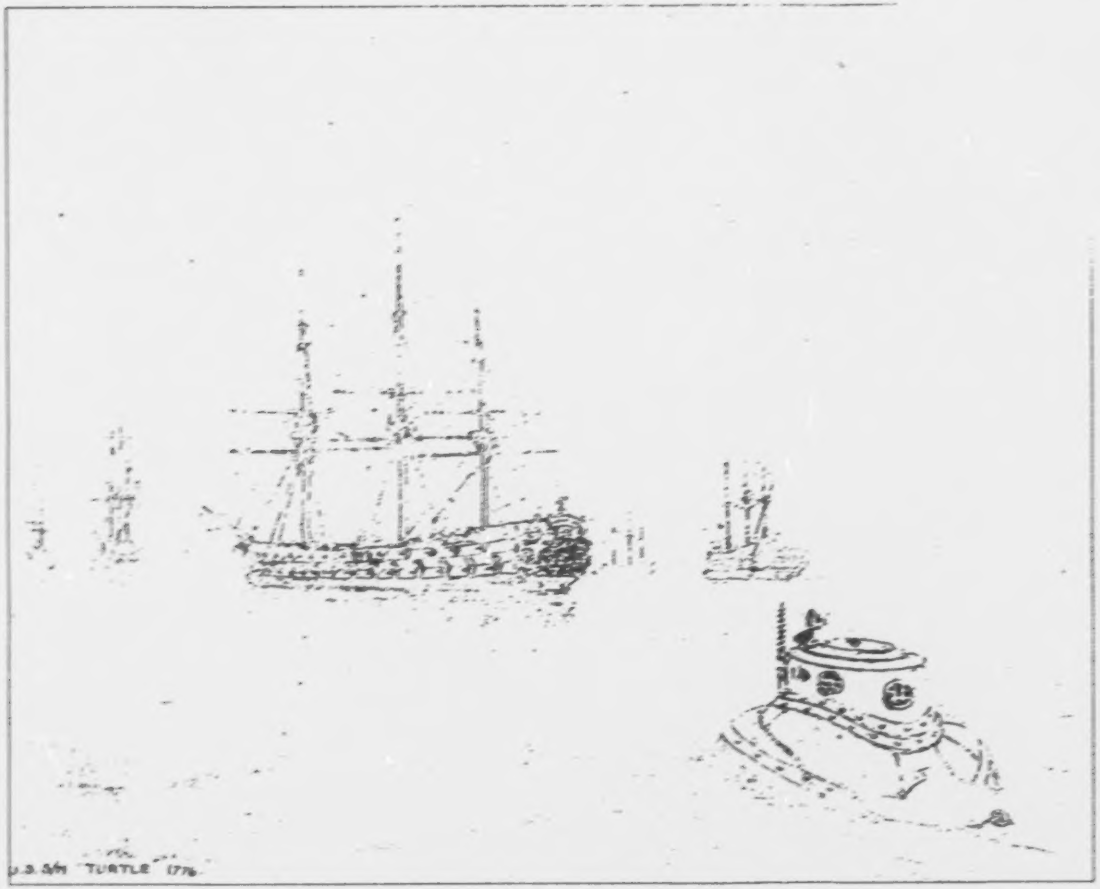
TAKE NOTICE,

THAT

A TYPICAL RECRUITING NOTICE
SEEKING VOLUNTEERS FOR THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



USS TURTLE IN ITS UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO ATTACH A TORPEDO TO THE BOTTOM OF HMS EAGLE, ADMIRAL RICHARD HOWE'S FLAGSHIP ANCHORED OFF GOVERNOR'S ISLAND, NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 7, 1776

This painting depicts the first attack by a submergible vessel on a surface ship during war. Most historians view the actions of the Turtle against the HMS Eagle on September 7, 1776, as the first submarine attack in history.

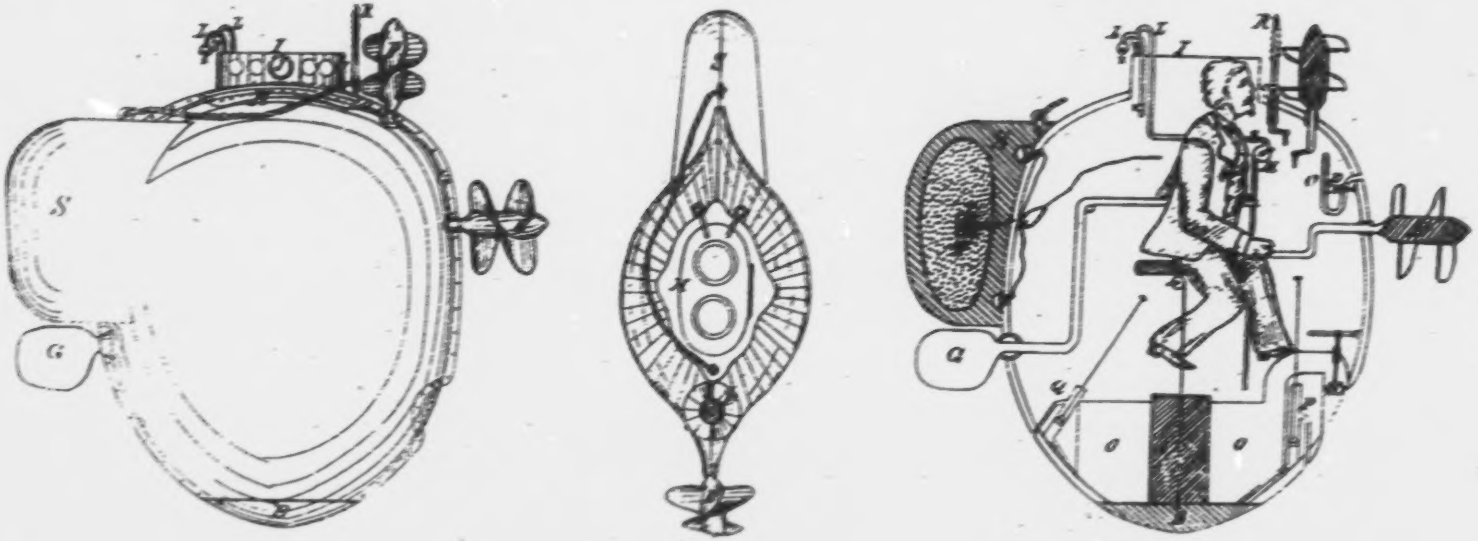
David Bushnell, the inventor and builder of the Turtle, was not in the vessel during the actual attack on Lord Richard Howe's flagship, HMS Eagle. The man inside was Bije Shipman[1] His task was to complete all the tasks needed to get close enough to the *Eagle* to attach the explosives and depart before it exploded. However, almost immediately, things began to go wrong. First, he refused to go unless he had a quid of fresh tobacco. After a long delay and no tobacco, he finally consented to go. As he approached the *Eagle* and tried to screw into the hull to attach the explosives, he struck iron. This iron seems to have been under the copper outer surface of the *Eagle's* hull. The sound of the impact of the screw with the iron was loud enough that it alerted guards on the *Eagle*. Shortly afterwards, Shipman surfaced the Turtle to get a view of the situation and plan his next move. When his observation tower reached the surface, the guards started firing at this strange craft. As they did so, the keg of powder set by a timed fuse exploded with a huge splash of water. The impact shook the Turtle. It also scared the British fleet which quickly spread out and kept away from this little craft as it moved back to shore.

This was the first attack by a submarine in history. Although unsuccessful in this effort to sink or seriously damage a surface ship, and the few that followed Bushnell showed that his timing device with delayed fuse could work and could work underwater. He also showed that the idea of a submergible vessel could work. The problem was how to turn this machine into an effective weapon of war.

Bushnell's Submarine Torpedo Boat, 1776, an undated painting by E. Tunell. The original painting was a present to the USS Jack (SS N 605) by Mr. and Mrs. Leslie R. Groves. Mrs. Groves was a sponsor for the commissioning of the USS Jack. A Naval Historical Center Photograph, No. NH/PL (M) 380566KN.

[1] *Some accounts of this first battle have Ezra Lee as the operator of the Turtle.*

PBS VIDEO



BUSHNELL'S SUBMARINE TORPEDO BOAT, 1776

While an undergraduate student at Yale, David Bushnell (1742-1824) invented a timing device for fuses that would work to ignite explosives underwater. In his efforts he invented the first torpedo or mine whose explosives were ignited by a fuse rather than impact. In 1775, he then set his mind to work to design a vessel that could connect his "torpedo" to the hull of a ship.

The result was a submergible vessel that was pear-shaped or turtle-shaped or that, as some said, looked like a coconut, two turtle shells placed together, or walnut stood on its end. It was nicknamed Bushnell's Turtle by those who first saw it. This name stuck. This ship was made out of oak banded by strips of iron. It was about seven and a half feet long, six feet wide and nine feet deep. The Turtle had two propellers: one to move the ship up and down and the second to move it forward and backwards. It had no underwater air supply except that air that filled the vessel in the small space occupied by the operator. The Turtle however was the first vessel to be submerged by taking water into separate tanks and raised by pumping this water out again.

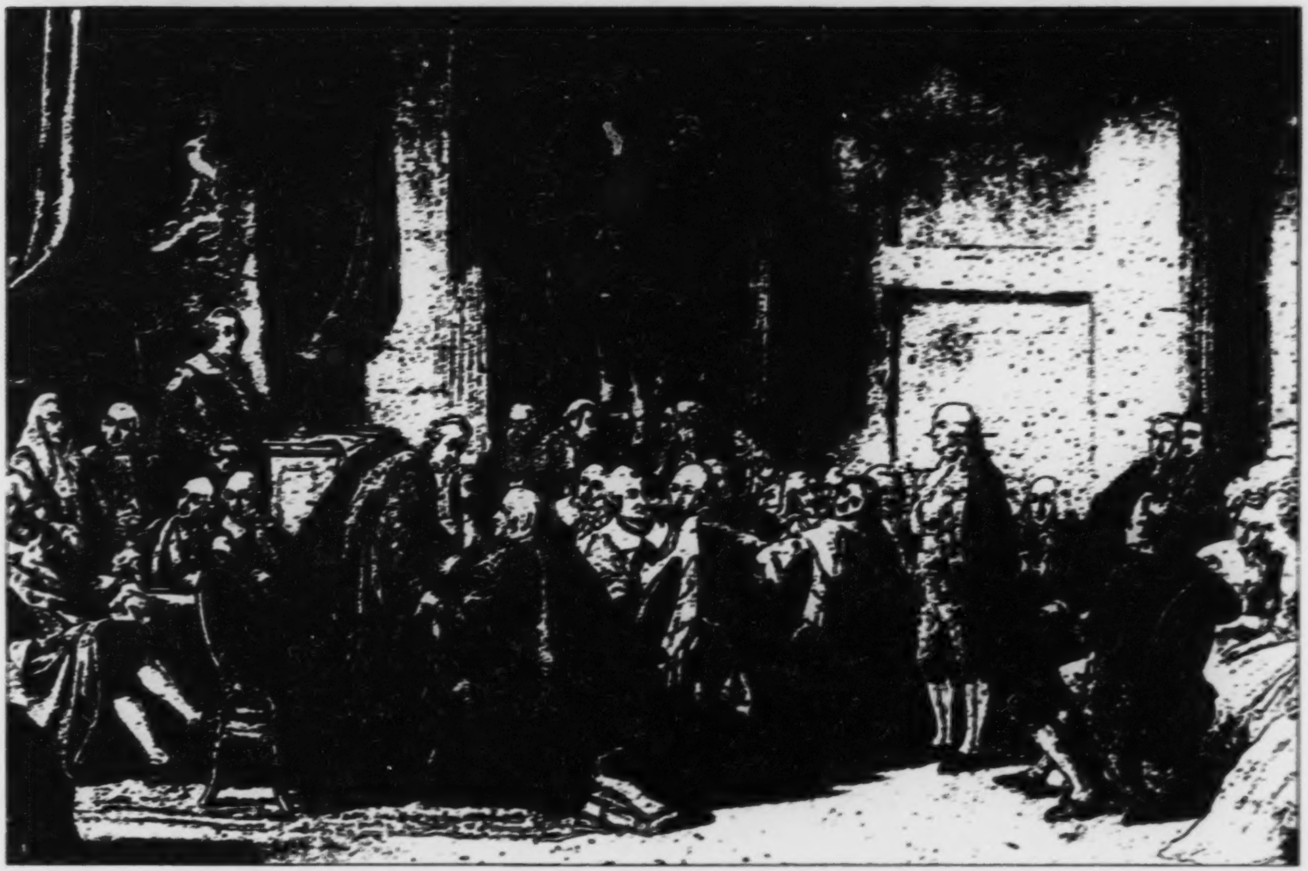
The vessel was designed to be propelled underwater by one person who had to hand crank one of the two propellers, steer the vessel by its rudder, and look out the small window to see where it was going or needed to go. Once under a ship, this same person had to hand crank a screw device that would drill into the hull and automatically attach a torpedo filled with 100 pounds of gunpowder attached to a short timed fuse to the hull. The operator then needed to get away from the ship before the fuse ignited the gunpowder. Of the many problems, two of the most important were: it was a single-person vessel and the demands placed on the operator have the strength and endurance to do all the physical things necessary were overwhelming, event for Bushnell himself; and the screw device was not strong enough to get through the copper sheeting that covered the outside of each warship's hull.

Bushnell actively worked on this device from summer of 1775 to December of 1777, with the attack on the Admiral Howe's flagship, HMS *Eagle*, on September 7, 1776, as the most spectacular voyage of the Turtle. In this attack, the Turtle's screw was unable to penetrate the hull of the ship so that the torpedo could be attached. The torpedo drifted away and exploded close to the *Eagle*, but not close enough to cause any damage. Today Bushnell is considered the Father of Submarine Warfare.

Drawings made by Lt. Commander F.M. Barber in from a description and notes left by Bushnell. The original drawings are found in "Pamphlets" Ordinance, 1875, Volume 3, Nr. U:065: Lecture on Submarine Boats by Lt. Commander F.M. Barber. A Naval Historical Center Photograph, No. NR&L(O) 3294.

PBS VIDEO

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AT THE COURT OF FRANCE

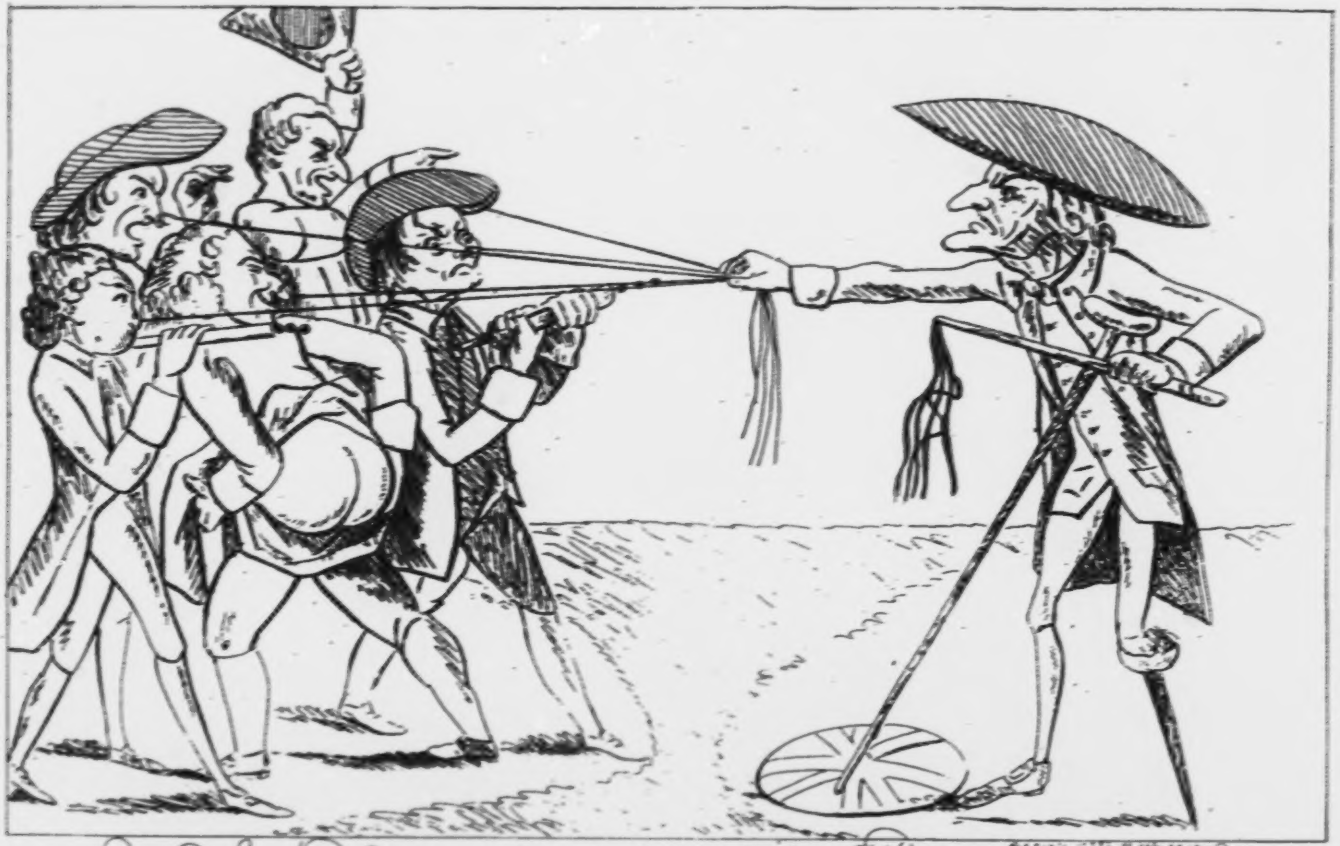
In November 1776, the Continental Congress appointed Benjamin Franklin to serve as one of their representatives to the court of the French king, Louis XVI. Franklin was well known to many in high society and government at the time. His *Poor Richard's Almanac* had long before been translated into French. His scientific ideas (e.g., experiments concerning electricity with the kite) had circulated in many publications throughout Europe. His fame in France as a scholar, author, inventor, scientist and printer helped him gain the acceptance he needed to be an effective representative. In addition, he spoke flawless French.

Franklin used his intelligence, wit, charm and commitment to the colonial cause to gain much of the help he wanted the French to give to the colonies. He was able to get large amounts of money, some of it as loans, indirectly from the French government. He appointed John Paul Jones to lead four ships against British ships off the coast of England and France. Through his efforts millions of dollars of French currency was spent on supplying the colonists with arms, munitions, etc.

However, Franklin knew that the French king would not declare war against Britain until there was evidence the colonies could stand on their own against the British. Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, New York, in October 1777 finally convinced King Louis that France, with the British busy fighting in the colonies, could be beaten. Within two days of receiving the news of Burgoyne's defeat, Franklin received word that the king was ready to arrange an alliance with the colonies. In February 1778, the alliance that Franklin had worked so hard to arrange was secured by the signing of a treaty with France. The support from and alliance with France might have come regardless of who represented the Continental Congress in France. However, there is little doubt that Benjamin Franklin was the key person who secured large amounts of French aid beginning almost immediately after his arrival, kept the French government interested in exploring more ways of helping fight the British, and generous terms given in the treaty of alliance with France when it entered the war against Britain.

Painting by Hoberu. Library of Congress, No. 66-G-15B-5

PBS VIDEO


Poor old England endeavoring to reclaim his wicked American Children.
England ... a Staff

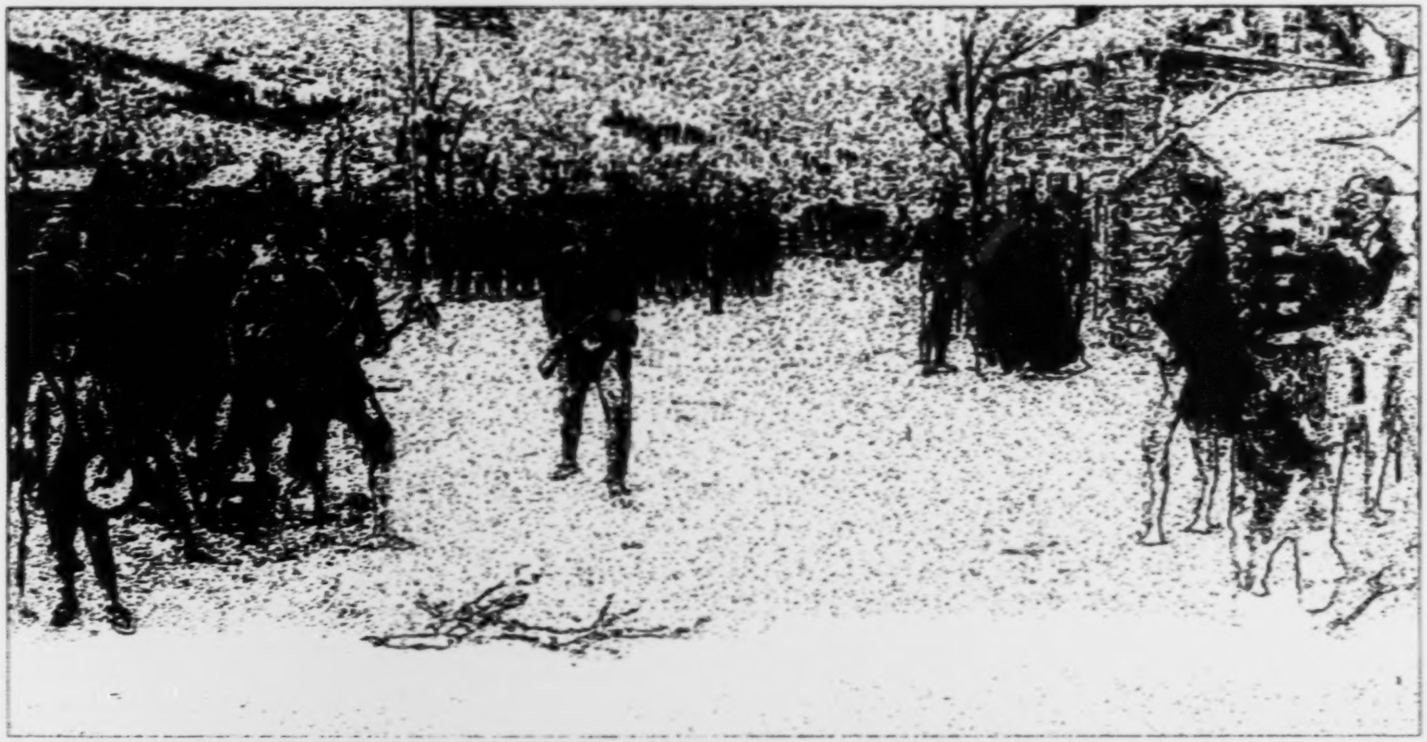
POOR OLD ENGLAND ENDEAVORING TO RECLAIM HIS WICKED AMERICAN CHILDREN

The elderly and somewhat handicapped man represents England on one side of the Atlantic trying to control and limit the actions of five men who represent the rebellious colonies. The shield which the man's crutch is resting on represents the authority and power of England. His other hand holds a scourge (or whip) that he threatens to use to subdue the men. Meanwhile the men challenge the old man. Four are held to the old man by ropes attached to their noses. The ropes reveal that the men have not yet freed themselves totally of England. One man aims a cannon at the old man. One man pulls his pants down to expose his backside in a public display of disrespect for the old man. This scene represents the efforts by the king and his authority to harness and control the colonists who show no signs of either respecting or submitting to the wishes of the king. This cartoon was published in London fourteen months after the Continental Congress voted for independence from England and one month before General Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga.

Artist unknown. Drawing published by Matthew Darly, London, England, September 1, 1777. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, No. 19-0961, Neg. No. C-8055.

PBS VIDEO

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



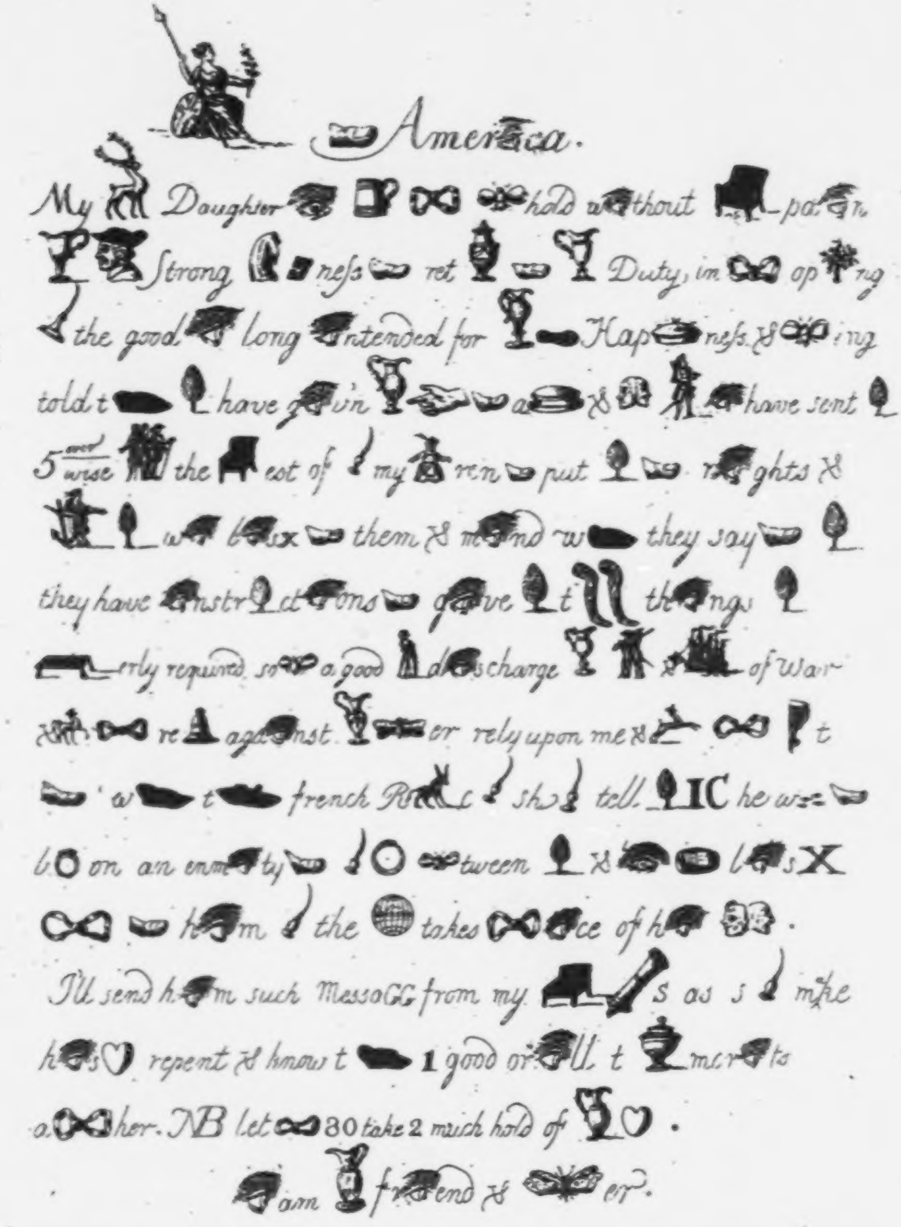
BARON VON STEUBEN AT VALLEY FORGE, PENNSYLVANIA, WINTER OF 1777-78

Baron von Steuben arrived at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, on February 23, 1778, as a commissioned officer in the Continental army. By reputation, he had been an officer in the army of Fredrick of Germany, one of the best armies in Europe at the time. His task was to take a group of hungry, poorly-clothed, undisciplined, and poorly equipped men and shape them into a well-disciplined army in a matter of two or three months. He did not shirk from this task. He commended the men and their officers, declaring no army in Europe would have stayed together under the conditions he found in Valley Forge. He recognized that there was no discipline at all in the soldiers. He decided that the key was discipline: without it the army would not be very successful. In mostly German and French with a few English words, he shaped the army into a well-disciplined unit of fighting men.

He eventually wrote a drill book in French, which was later translated into English. In spite of his demands on the soldiers and his fellow officers, he was one of the most well liked men in camp. General Washington also praised the baron for his knowledge and abilities to transform the soldiers into an army.

Painting by Augustus G. Heaton. Library of Congress, No. 111-SC-83897.

PBS VIDEO


America.
My Daughter hold without pa n
Strong nefs ret Duty, in op ng
the good long Intended for Hap nefs & ing
told t have given a & have sent
5 wise the est of my ren put rights &
w them & mind w they say
they have nstr ct ons give t things
rly required so a good d scharge of War
re against or rely upon me & t
french sh tell IC he was
on an enm ty tween & X
the takes ce of h
I'll send h m such Messages from my s as s make
h s repent & know t 1 good or ll t mer ts
a her. NB let 80 take 2 much hold of
am fr end & er.

BRITANNIA TO AMERICA

A rebus (or hieroglyphic letter) is one of the oldest forms of satiric expression. Each contained pictures or other symbols to replace words or letters. The combination of words and picture often slowed comprehension and challenged the translator to find the true meaning of the expression. In this rebus, Britain pleads with America to abandon the treaty that was recently made with France. Britain wants America to return to her former happiness as Britain. If you read carefully, there are many messages that Britain is trying to communicate to America.

Created by Matthew Darly, London, England, May 6, 1778.
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation., No. 1960-65, Neg. No. C-8126.

PBS VIDEO

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The rebus above may be translated as follows:

[Britannia] [toe][1] Amer[eye]ca

My [deer] Daughter, [Eye] [can][knot] [bee]hold w[eye]thout [grate] pa[eye]n [ewer] [head]strong [back]-[ward]ness [toe] ret[urn] [toe] [ewer]
Duty in [knot] op[posy]ng [awl] the good [eye] long [eye]ntended for [ewer] [sole] Hap[pie]ness & [bee]ing. (I have been) told t[hat] [yew] have
g[eye]v'n [ewer] [hand] [toe] a [base] & [double-faced] [Frenchman]. [Eye] have sent [yew] 5 over/wise [men] the [grate]est of [awl] my [child]ren
[toe] put [yew] [toe] r[eye]ghts & [hope] [yew] w[eye][ll] l[eye]s[ten] [tow] them & m[eye]nd w[hat] they say [toe] [yew]. They have
[eye]nstr[yew]ct[eye]ons[2] [toe] g[eye]ve [yew] t[hose] the[eye]ngs [yew] [form]erly required. So [bee]
a good [girl], d[eye]scharge [ewer] [soldiers] & [ships] of war & [doe] [knot] re[beli] aga[eye]nst [ewer] [moth]er. Rely upon me & [doe][knot]
[console]t[3] to w[hat] t[hat] french R[ass]c[awl] sh[awl]
tell [yew]. IC he w[ants] [toe] b[ring] on an enm[eye]ty [toe] [awl][4] [bee]tween [yew] & [eye] [but] l[eye]s[ten][5] [knot] [toe] h[eye]m [awl]
the [world] takes [knot][eye]ce[6] of h[eye][s] [doubleface]. I'll send h[eye]m such MessaGG[7] from my [grate][guns]s as s[h][awl]
make h[eye]s [heart] repent & know t[hat] [one] good or [eye]ll t[urn]mer[eye]ts a [knot]her. NB let [knot] [eighty][8] take [two] much hold of [ewer]
[heart].

[Eye] am [ewer] fr[eye]end & [moth]er.

---

[1] *[toe] translates as to.*

[2] *[eye]nstr[yew]ct[eye]ons is translated as instructions.*

[3] *[console]t translates as consort.*

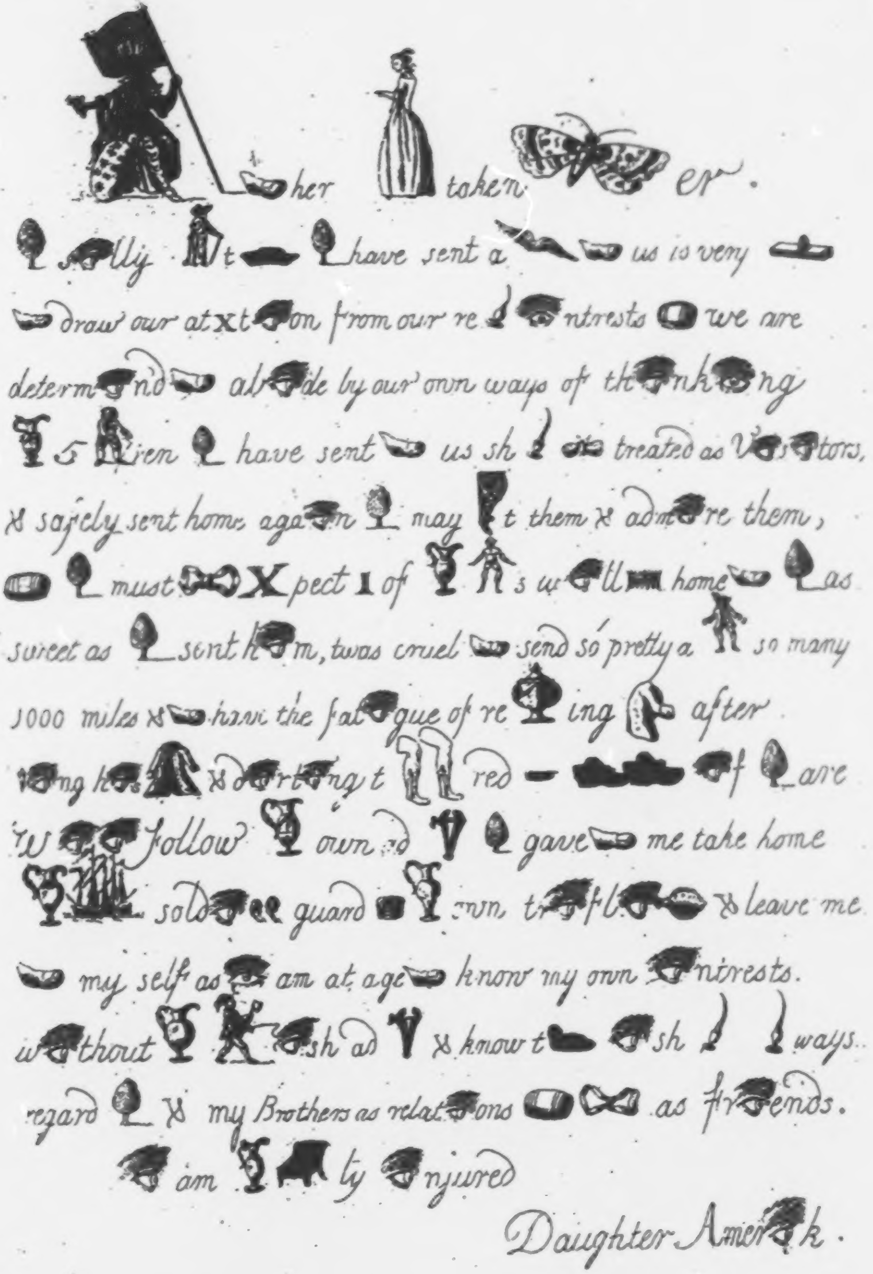
[4] *A snake appears here. In the colonies a snake was often used as a symbol of unity or union.*

[5] *l[eye]s[ten] translates as listen.*

[6] *[knot][eye]ce translates as notice.*

[7] *MessaGG translates as message.*

[8] *[eighty] should be translated as hate.*


her taken er.
ally t have sent a us is very
draw our atxt on from our re ntrests we are
determ nd ab de by our own ways of th nk ng
5 ien have sent us sh treated as V tors,
& safely sent home aga n may t them & adm re them,
must X pect 1 of s w ll home as
sweet as sent h m, twas cruel send so pretty a so many
3000 miles & have the fat gue of re ing after
ng h & rt ng t red - f are
w follow own V gave me take home
sold e guard wn tr fl & leave me
my self as am at age know my own ntrests.
w thout sh as V & know t sh ways.
regard & my Brothers as relat ons as fr ends.
am ty njured
Daughter Amer k.

AMERICA TO HER MISTAKEN MOTHER

A rebus (or hieroglyphic letter) is one of the oldest forms of satiric expression. Each contained pictures or other symbols to replace words or letters. The combination of words and picture often slowed comprehension and challenged the translator to find the true meaning of the expression. This rebus was a response to the one entitled, "Britannia to America." In this rebus Americans are telling the Britons that they are going to continue to think the way they had been thinking. If you read carefully there are many messages that Americans in 1778 might have tried to communicate to people in England.

Created by Matthew Darly, London, England. 1778. This rebus, published on May 12, 1794 by Laurie & Whittle, No. 53., Fleet Street, London, is a reprint of the original 1778 version. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, No. 1960-66, Neg. No. C-8102.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

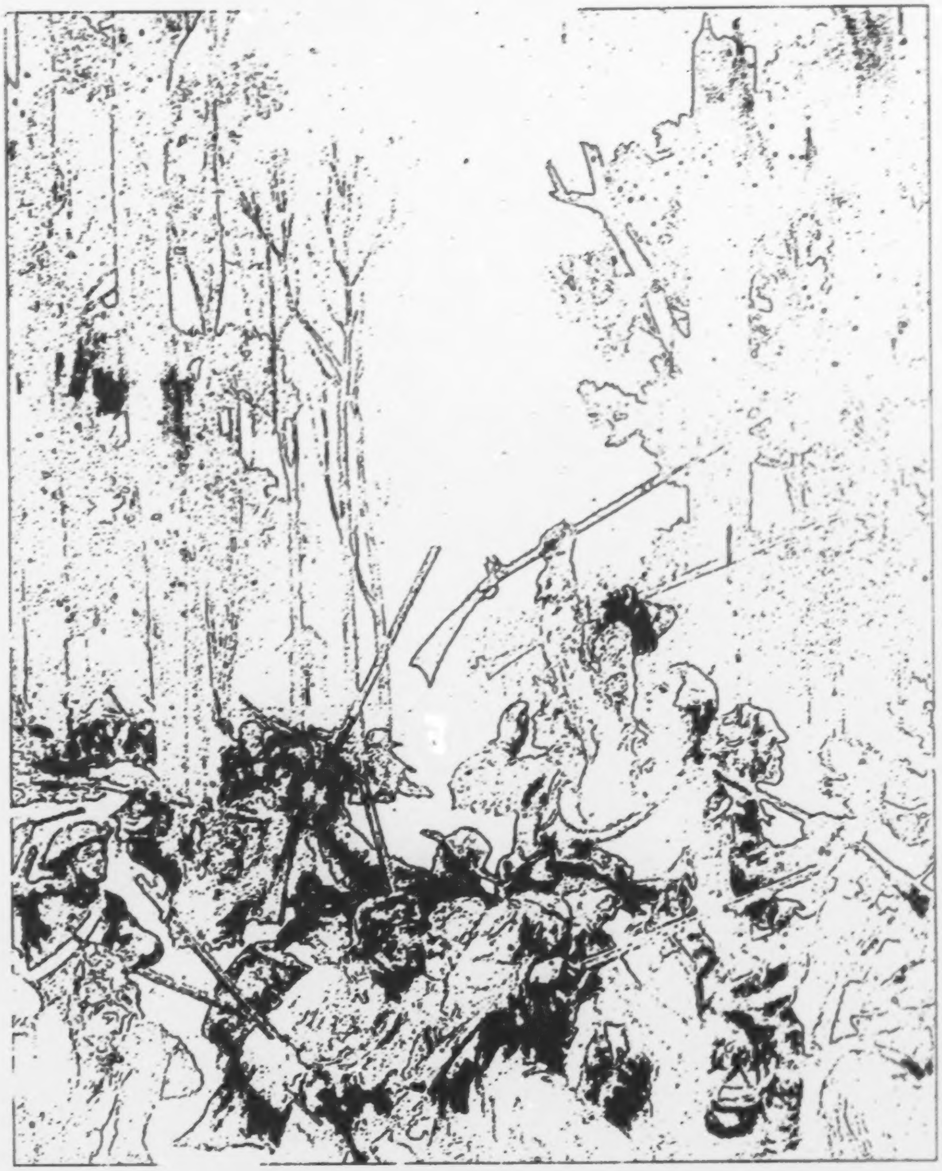
The rebus above may be translated as follows:

[America] [toe][1] *her [Miss]taken [Moth]er. [Yew] s[eye]illy [old woman] t[hat] [yew] have sent a [lure] [toe] us is very [plane] [toe] draw our at[ten]t[eye]on from our re[awl] [eye]nterests. [Butt] we are determ[eye]n'd [toe] ab[eye]de by our own ways of th[eye]nk[eye]ng*[2]*.[Ewer] [five] [child]ren have sent [toe] us sh[awl] [bee] treated as v[eye]s[eye]tors, and safely sent home aga[eye]n. [Ewe] may [console]t them & adm[eye]re them, [butt] [ewe] must [knot] [X]pect [1] of [ewer] [puppet]'s w[eye]ll [crown] home [toe] [ewe]as sweet as [ewe] sent h[eye]m, twas cruel [toe] send so pretty a [gentleman] so many [1,000] miles and [toe] have the fat[eye]gue of re[urn]ing [back] after [tear][eye]ng h[eye]s [coat] & d[eye]rt[eye]ng t[hose] red [heeled] [shoes]. [Eye]f [ewe] are w[eye]se, follow [ewer] own ad[vise] [ewe] gave [toe] me, take home [ewer] [ships] [sold[eye][ears] guard [well] [ewer] own tr[eye]fl[eye]ng [soul] & leave me[toe] my self as [eye] am at age [toe] know my own [eye]nterests. W[eye]thout [ewer] [fool][eye]sh ad[vise] & know t[hat] [eye] sh[awl] [awl]ways regard [ewe] & my Brothers as relat[eye]ons [butt] [knot] as fr[eye]nds.*

[Eye] am [ewer] [great]ly [eye]njured
Daughter of Amer[eye]k

---

[1] *[toe] translates as to.*
[2] *th[eye]nk[eye]ng translates as thinking.*



COLONEL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK'S MARCH
AGAINST VINCENNES, ACROSS THE WABASH RIVER,
THROUGH WILDERNESS AND FLOOD,
FEBRUARY, 1779

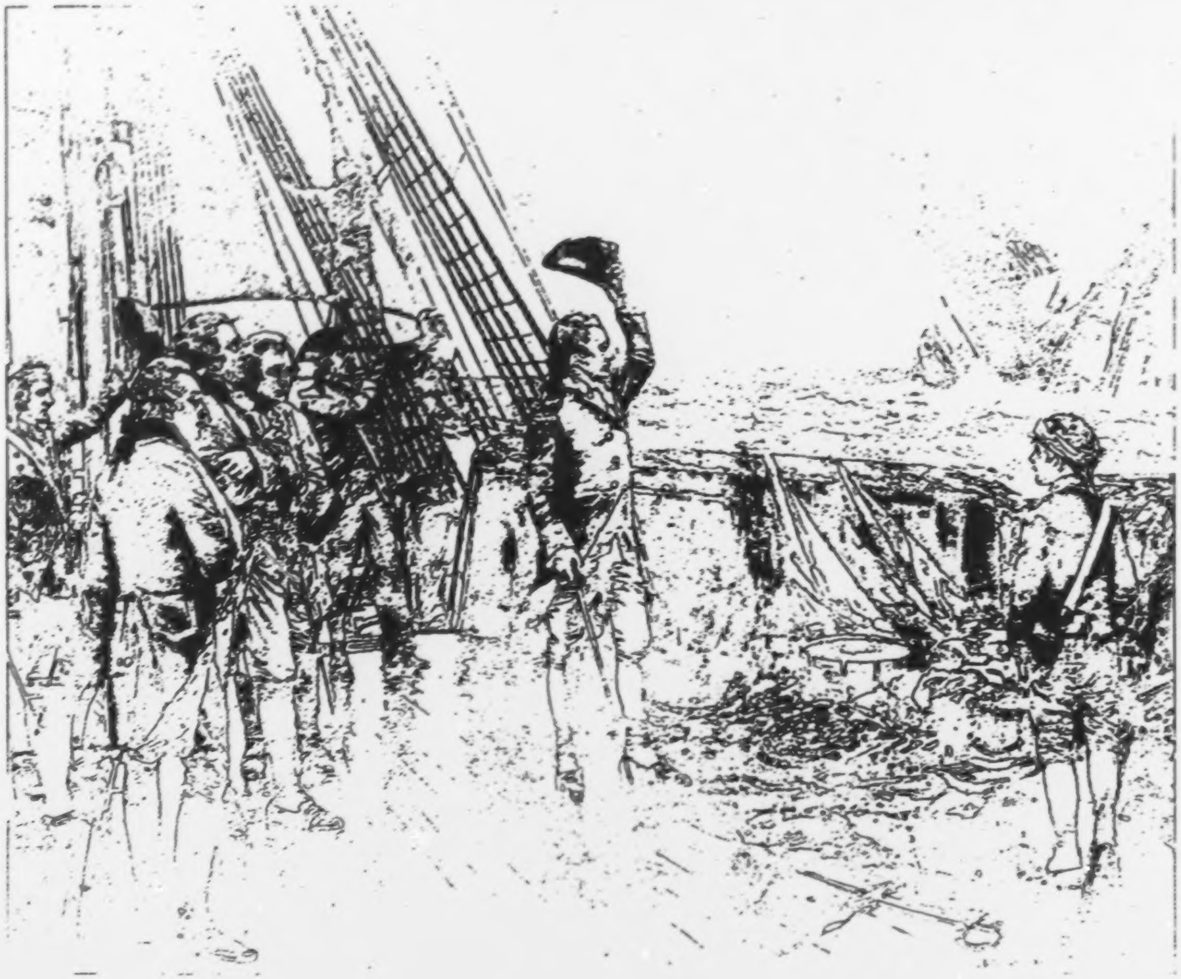
The war west of the Alleghenies and Appalachian Mountains has been virtually ignored by Americans. In 1778-79, Clark, age twenty six, led his men over 1,200 miles from Pennsylvania to the Mississippi River and then northward in the direction of Detroit. This scene depicts George Rogers Clark leading 127 frontiersmen as they wade through the icy waters of the flooded Wabash River on their way to Vincennes in February 1779. At that time Vincennes was in the Illinois territory; today it is a community in Indiana.

The British had recently occupied the fort at Vincennes. After covering the 180 miles in seventeen days in the dead of winter, Clark found he was outnumbered. Knowing he could not win by a regular attack, he decided to try to fool the British. He sent a letter to the chief officer, Lt. Col. Henry Hamilton, whom the American colonists nicknamed "Hair Buyer" because of this reputation for buying American scalps, and demanded the surrender of the fort. Clark indicated in the letter that he was confident of victory if there had to be a fight. The letter scared away nearly all of Hamilton's Indian allies. It also alerted the American colonists in the fort of his presence. Hamilton refused to surrender. Clark attacked the fort for one day. Then he brought to the front of the fort some of the Indians who had tried to escape. Several of these Indians had American scalps tied to their belts. To bring a quick surrender, Clark ordered his men to execute the Indians by a tomahawk to their own scalps. This scene scared Hamilton who immediately surrendered. This victory placed the Americans in charge of the Ohio River Valley in the Illinois territory. A very important consequence of his victories was that the territories that he won for the Americans was transferred to the United States by the Treaty of Paris in 1783. Had he not won his battles in this area, the United States probably would not have gotten this territory in this treaty.

Painting by Ezra Winter. Library of Congress, No. 66-G-5-106.

PBS VIDEO

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



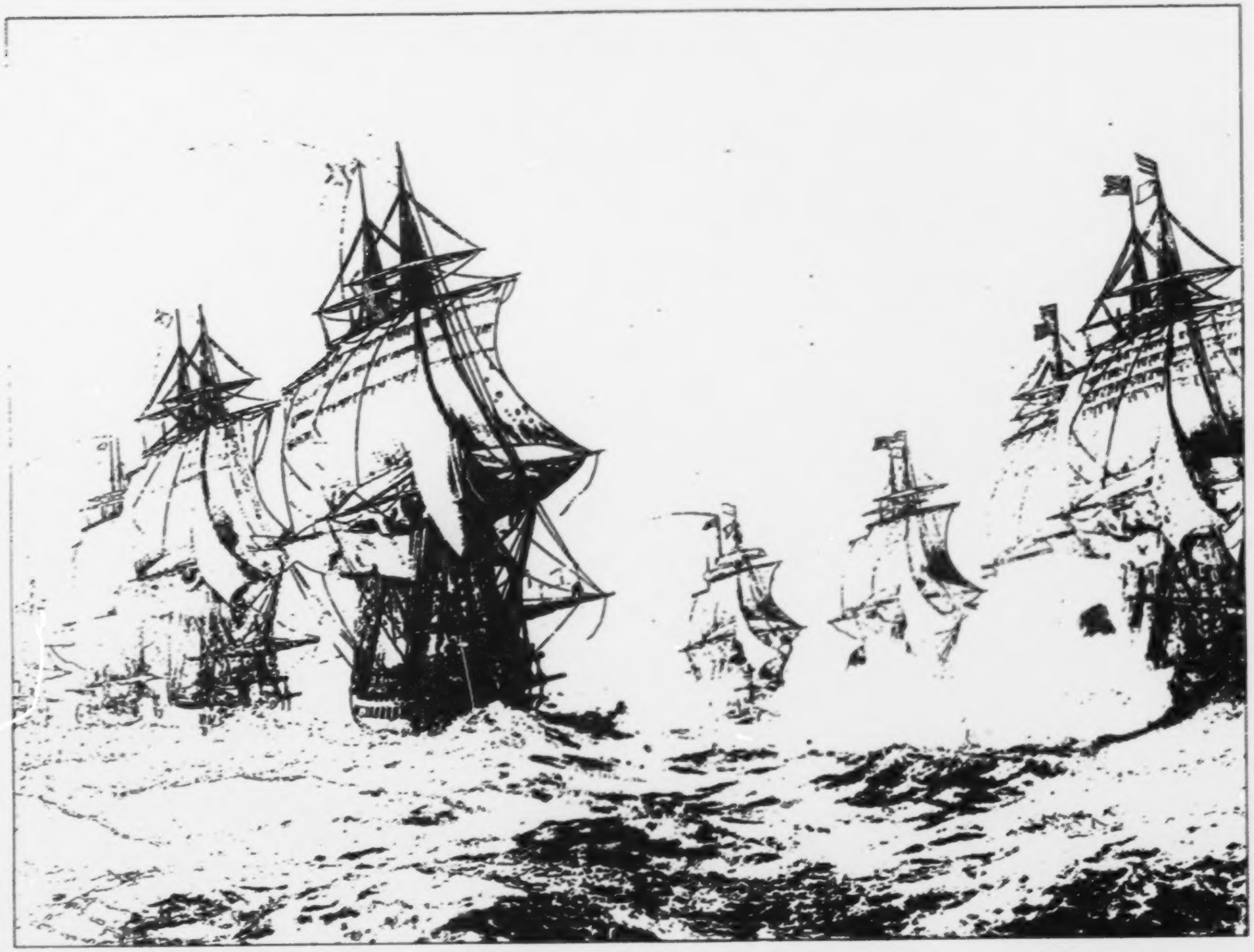
JOHN PAUL JONES BIDDING GOODBYE TO HIS VICTORIOUS SHIP. THE *BONHOMME RICHARD*

On September 23, 1779, just off the coast of England, John Paul Jones' ship *Bonhomme Richard* fought the *HMS Serapis* in what is considered the most spectacular duel between two boats in the war. Jones' ship was severely damaged and in danger of sinking when the captain of the *Serapis* called out if Jones was ready to surrender. Without hesitation, Jones yelled back and loud enough for his men to hear, "I have not yet begun to fight!" Then he immediately ordered his men to swing the boat around so that there was almost no room between them. They were so close that the muzzles of the cannons on board the ships actually touched one another. He then ordered his men to hook grappling irons to the *Serapis* and board it using guns, swords and grenades. The move surprised the men on board the *Serapis*. After bitter hand-to-hand combat that lasted nearly two hours, the *Serapis* surrendered. One unusual aspect about the fight on board the *Serapis* was the fact that it too was on fire and badly damaged. The men on both sides actually stopped fighting several times so that the sailors could put out fires that threatened to sink the ship. Once the fires were under control, the fight continued. With victory secured, Jones ordered what could be saved transferred to the *Serapis* because he knew the *Bonhomme Richard* was sinking.

By war's end, Jones served seven years in the navy on behalf of the colonial cause. He was first selected by Benjamin Franklin, whom he met shortly after Franklin arrived in Paris, to convince the French king to enter an alliance with the colonies. Franklin secured enough funds to purchase one large, old battleship and three small warships. Jones showed his appreciation by naming the larger ship, *Bonhomme Richard*, which was French for "Poor Richard," the name of Franklin's almanac that had long been published in French.

Artist is Percy Moran. Present location of this painting is unknown. In 1938, a photo of this painting was donated to the Naval Historical Center by the Naval Academy Museum. A Naval Historical Center Photograph, No. NH48784.

PBS VIDEO



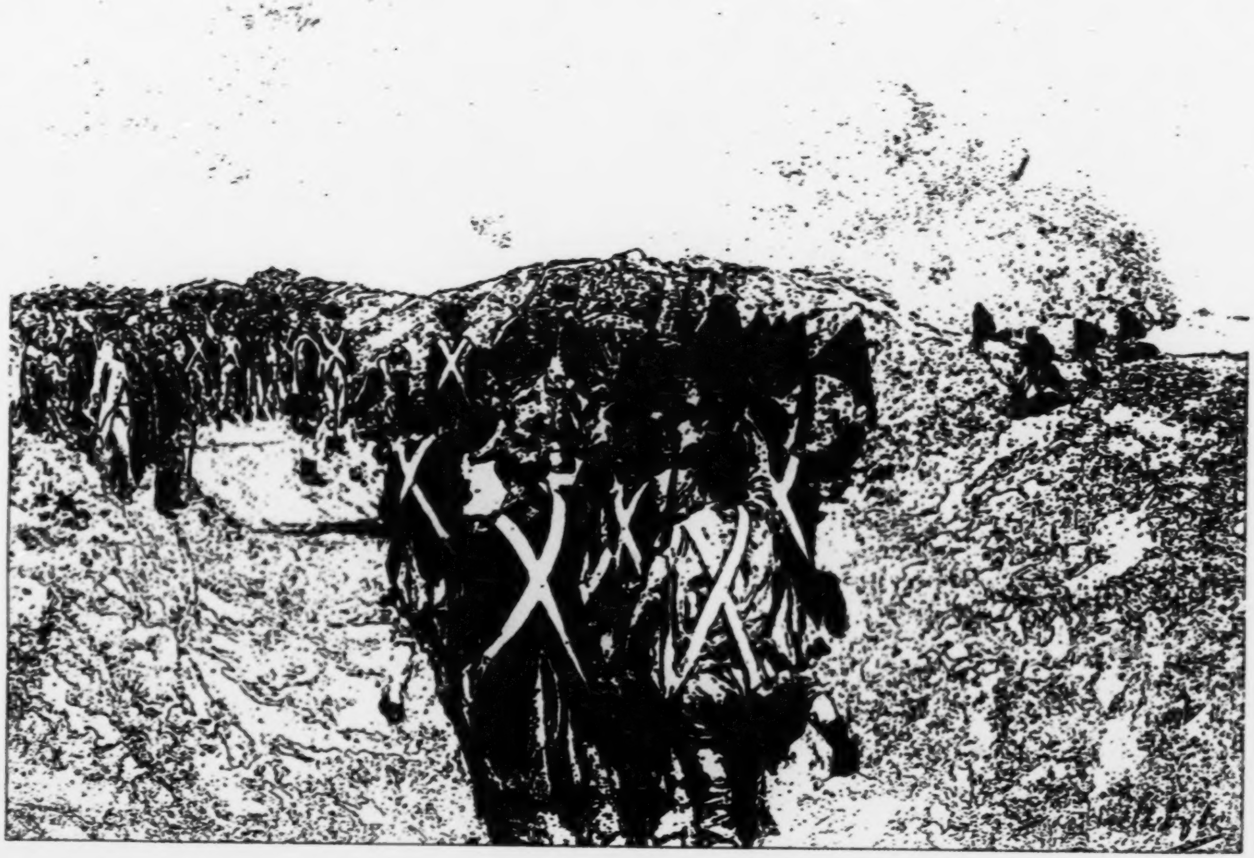
BATTLE OFF THE VIRGINIA CAPES, SEPTEMBER 5, 1781

In the first week of September 1781 Admiral de Grasse's French fleet arrived off the coast of Virginia in an attempt to keep General Cornwallis's army of nearly 9,000 men from escaping Yorktown. De Grasse had earlier alerted French General Rochambeau, who was camped north of New York, that he could bring his fleet to North America from the Caribbean for a few weeks in September and October. Rochambeau and General Washington decided to move their armies south to attack Cornwallis on land. Meanwhile Cornwallis had already sent for more supplies and reinforcements. He also asked for more naval support. The fate of Cornwallis's army rested on getting these supplies and additional men. He did not know that de Grasse's fleet was on its way. In addition, General George Clinton, commander of the British forces in the colonies, seemed in no hurry to send the help Cornwallis needed.

Suddenly the massive French fleet arrived off the coast of Yorktown. De Grasse's fleet of twenty-four great warships carried 1,700 cannons and 19,000 seamen. The fleet severely damaged or destroyed some of the British ships anchored offshore. Then on September 5, 1781, de Grasse met some of the early ships on their way to help Cornwallis. The British were surprised by the presence of this fleet and were unprepared for a major naval confrontation. The two naval forces fought several engagements over the next few days. Finally the British ships turned north and retreated to New York City. Cornwallis was now trapped between the French navy to his back and the combined American and French army to his front. Within six weeks of this decisive naval battle, Cornwallis surrendered to Washington and Rochambeau.

Undated oil painting by S. Zveg. Painting now the property of the Curator for the Department of the Navy, Washington, D.C. A Naval Historical Center Photograph, No. NH73927-KN.

PBS VIDEO



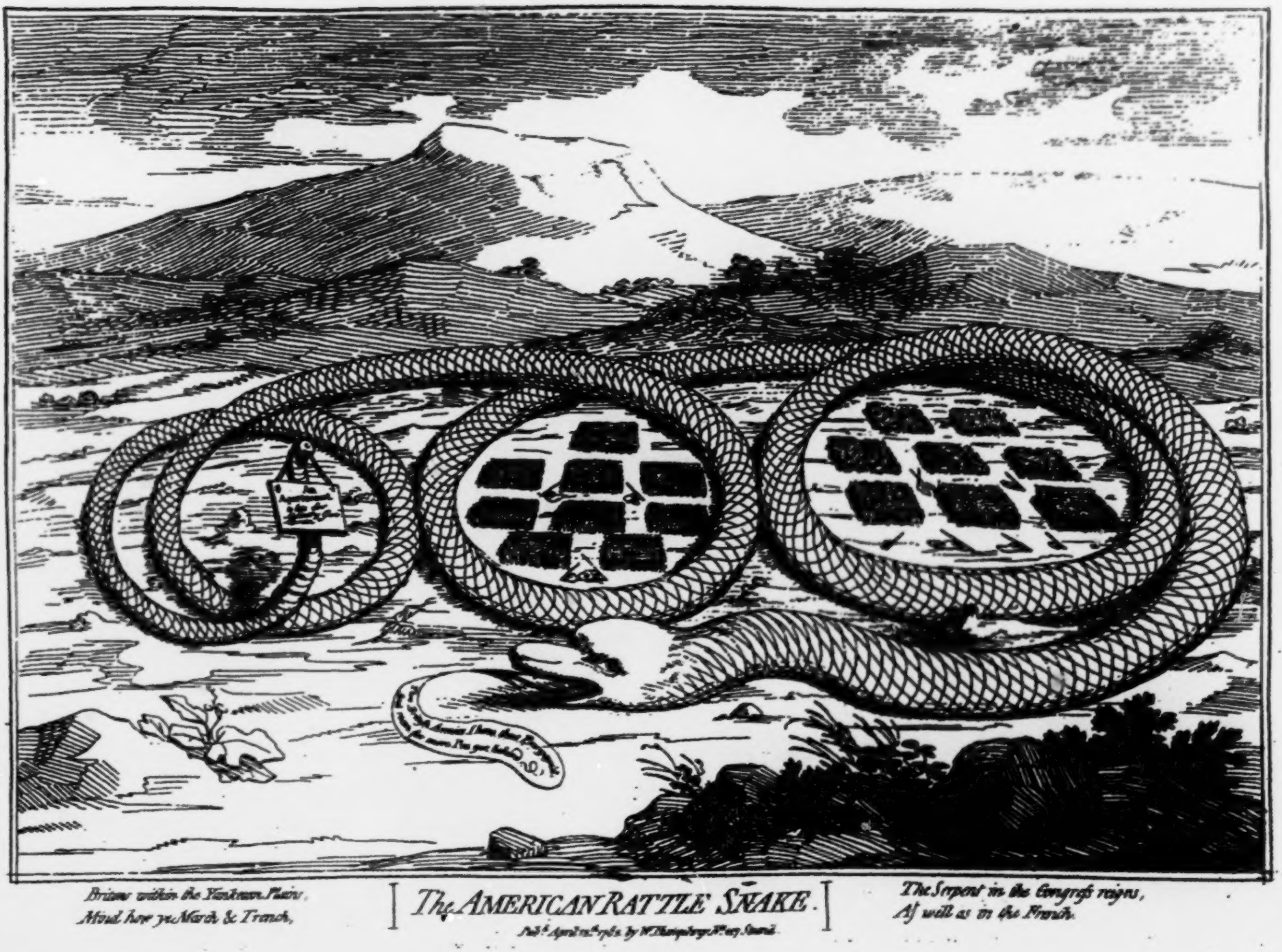
GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON FIRING THE FIRST GUN AT THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN OCTOBER 9. 1781

On September 28, 1781, the 8,800 man army of George Washington and the 8,000 man army of Count Rochambeau arrived outside of Yorktown. They began the siege of the town where General Cornwallis's 8,000 man army and at least 3,000 runaway slaves were dug in. By this time, the French fleet under Admiral de Grasse had cut Cornwallis off from either retreat or resupply. During the first week, the Americans and French spent their time digging trenches, fortifications and embankments. According to the traditions of war, these tasks were done before the cannons where actually brought up and readied for firing.

One October 9, 1781, George Washington was given the honor of firing the first cannon in the Battle of Yorktown. This shot apparently went into a house where it killed on of the officers sitting at the dinner table. Within a week these cannons fired well over 5,000 rounds and the damage to the earthworks of the British fortifications was severe. Ten days after Washington's symbolic first shot, Cornwallis's army surrendered its weapons.

Artist is Howard Pyle, No date, Story of the Revolution. A Naval Historical Center Photograph, No. NH000129.

PBS VIDEO


Britons within the Yankean Plains,
Mind how ye March & Trench,
The AMERICAN RATTLE SNAKE.
Pub.d April 12th 1782 by W. Humphrey No. 227 Strand.
The Serpent in the Congreſs reigns,
Aſs well as in the French.

THE AMERICAN RATTLE SNAKE

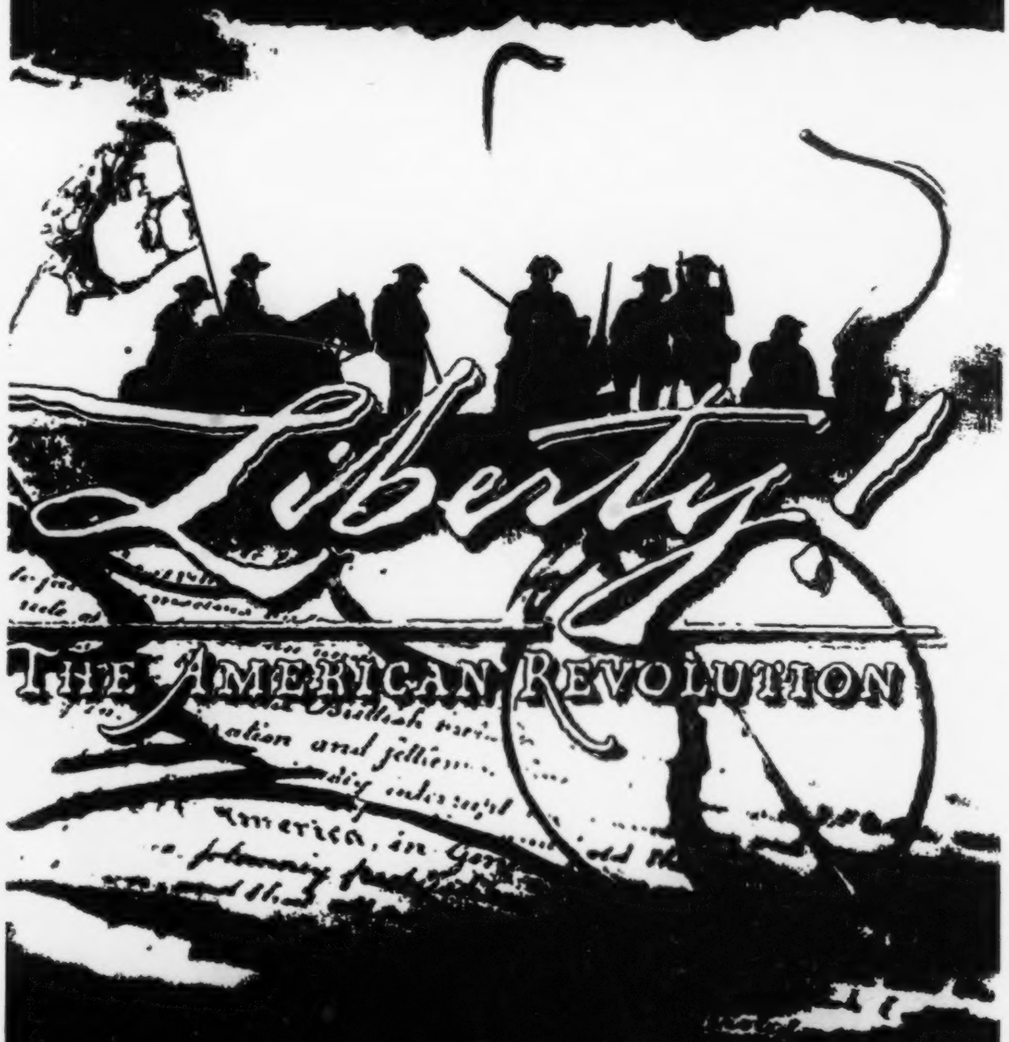
In the colonies at the time, snakes, especially rattlesnakes, were widely used as a symbol of unity or union either within a colony or among the colonies. In this etching, the snake symbolizes the colonies or perhaps just the Continental army. Inside the two largest coils are the armies of General Burgoyne, who surrendered at Saratoga in October 1777, and of General Cornwallis, who surrendered at Yorktown in October 1781. The area inside the third coil is empty. Engraved beneath the entire figure are the words "Britons within the Yeankean Plains, Mind how ye March & Trench [camp]. The Serpent in the Congress reigns, As well as in the French." These last two lines may refer to the notion that the colonies are united in their cause and in the Continental Congress and that there is also unity with France in the form of an alliance. The snake's forked tongue is inscribed "Two British Armies I have thus Burgoyn'd, And room for more I've got behind." On the end of the tail is a sign that reads: "An Apartment to lett for Military Gentlemen." This latter statement suggests that the artist believed that other British armies could also be defeated if need be.

While this etching was done by an Englishman, it may be interpreted as a serious cartoon about what the Americans had done and could still do to British armies sent to conquer the colonists. It could also portray the incompetence of the British generals sent to American and government officials in England in allowing two major armies to be captured by the colonists.

This black and white etching was made by James Gillray in England and was published on April 12, 1782, by W. Humphrey. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, No. 1960-99, Neg. No. C8076.

PBS VIDEO

PBS VIDEO*index*



Liberty!

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

VIDEO SEGMENT INDEX

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PBS VIDEO*index*™

Liberty!

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

A production of KTCA, St. Paul, Minnesota,

in association with Middlemarch Films.

Available from

PBS VIDEO

1320 Braddock Place • Alexandria, VA 22314-1698 • 1-800-344-3337

Index prepared by Osterman Associates, Newton, MA

All print materials © Public Broadcasting Service, 1997. PBS VIDEO is a department of the Public Broadcasting Service. PBS VIDEO and PBS VIDEO*index*™ are registered trademarks of the Public Broadcasting Service.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

About the PBS VIDEO*index*™ Index Format 1

Index Format 2

Chapters and Timings 3

Alphabetical Index 24

Subject Index

Events 44

Issues 50

Media, Arts and Culture 51

Organizations and Groups 52

People 54

ABOUT THE PBS VIDEO*index*™

The following index contains references to key events, themes and people featured in the series LIBERTY! THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. The index accompanies a set of videotapes specially prepared for educators which have been enhanced through the addition of chapter breaks and titles; frequent use of lower third captions identifying key people and their titles; and a time clock reference that is visible on your screen. The time clock appears as a series of number (e.g., 45:32) and refers to the minute and second at which a reference will appear. For instance, the reference given above will appear 45 minutes and 32 seconds into a particular episode. To find this reference, you need only to fast forward to the correct episode until the number 45:32 appears on the screen.

The printed PBS VIDEO*index*™ that is contained in this educational package will include an additional number, followed by a forward slash (/). This first number refers to the episode, or volume, in which the reference can be found. For example, in the index you will find a listing of background to the Boston Tea Party. That number will appear in the printed PBS VIDEO*index*™ as 1/43:32. To locate the reference on the tape place Volume 1: The Reluctant Revolutionaries in the VCR and fast forward or fast scan until you see the numbers 43:32 appear on your screen.

The PBS VIDEO*index*™ can also be a powerful resource to create your own thematic lessons. Explore the subject index to find entries for issues, events, people, or places about which you would like to teach. Identify the program segments which refer to those topics, locate them on the videotapes, and use them to create a lesson that meets your curriculum objectives.

INDEX FORMAT

This index is presented first in the format of a traditional book index, with all pertinent information arranged in alphabetical order. The entries are also presented and organized in a subject index which contains the following categories:

Events
Issues
Media, Arts and Culture
Organizations and Groups
People

412

CHAPTERS & TIMINGS

EPISODE I: THE RELUCTANT REVOLUTIONARIES

Chapter 1: Proud to Be British 2:52—6:38

This chapter describes the world in late 1763 as a person in England would likely have viewed it. The king of England is now the head of the largest most powerful empire in the world. In North America, the French are driven from Canada in a conflict known as the French and Indian War. The colonists revere their king and admire everything English. Meanwhile, the British Parliament decides it must find ways of paying for protecting its worldwide empire.

Chapter 2: Insignificant Provincials 6:40—15:06

This chapter reveals many of the attitudes that shaped the traditional social life and often restrained individuals both in Britain and the colonies. Examples are given of how the social system in England affected people in the upper levels of colonial society. It was quite clear that no matter what a colonist might do, he and his family would never be accepted in the upper levels of the society that lived in England. This chapter also concerns the ideas, ambitions and feelings of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and George Washington in regard to their own ambitions and their desire to be accepted as members of the English aristocratic class.

Chapter 3: The Stamp Act 15:08—29:50

In the spring of 1765 Parliament passes the Stamp Act. This legislation directs that, for the first time, the American colonists would pay a small tax called a stamp tax. Colonists would pay it not to their local legislatures but directly to England. The reaction to the this act is unexpected, hostile, violent, instantaneous and widespread. "Taxation without representation" provokes colonists' fears of enslavement and loss of all liberty and rights of English citizens. The colonists succeed in presenting a united front against the distribution of the stamps. The pressure to withdraw the tax brings results. In February 1766 Parliament repeals the Stamp Act.

Chapter 4: *The Declaratory Act* 29:51—37:00

On the same day it repeals the Stamp Act, Parliament passes the Declaratory Act asserting the absolute right of the British Parliament to make laws for the American colonies. A year later, Parliament enacts a new set of taxes on the colonies in the form of duties on manufactured goods from England. Colonists decide to boycott British goods. When the boycott takes hold, Parliament reluctantly agrees to withdraw all taxes and duties except for a symbolic one on tea. However, Parliament and the Crown continue to assert that the colonies must obey Parliament and the laws of the empire.

Chapter 5: *The Regulars Arrive to Police Boston* 37:01—43:31

In 1767 Chief Justice Thomas Hutchinson, concerned about the lawlessness, destruction of property and violence against people, pleads for Parliament to do something. Parliament sends a detachment of troops to Boston to serve as policemen, restore order and arrest the ringleaders. On March 5, 1770, angry citizens harass British soldiers, throwing objects at them and threatening them with physical harm. The soldiers fire in self-defense, and five Bostonians die in the mayhem. The incident becomes known as the Boston Massacre. Meanwhile, Benjamin Franklin sends Hutchinson's letters to Bostonians who publish them, thus creating a major protest against Hutchinson. King George III insists that these troubles be ended and wants actions taken immediately to force the protesters into submission.

Chapter 6: *The Tea Party* 43:33—47:00

In 1773 Parliament decides on a way of taxing the colonies that it believes the colonists would actually welcome—to sell surplus tea to America at an extremely low price with a nominal tax of three pennies a pound. This tax would be much lower than the citizens of England have to pay for tea. The reaction by the colonists again is quite unexpected. In every colony where the tea lands there are loud protests. In Massachusetts three ships loaded with tea arrive in Boston Harbor. Bostonians dress up as Mohawk Indians and dump 342 chests of tea into the harbor. No other property on the ships is damaged, and no one is harmed.

Chapter 7: *The Cockpit* 47:01—51:41

The anger in Parliament and throughout English society is widespread and intense. The dumping of the tea in the northern colonies is seen as a public act of defiance against the law, the British Constitution, Parliament and the king. The ministers decide to deal with the Bostonians' open defiance of the law and to remind everyone of the authority of Parliament and the king over the colonies. Meanwhile, Benjamin Franklin is at the center of a storm of controversy. Admitting that it was he who had leaked Hutchinson's letters to the Bostonians, he has to answer questions from members of the House of Lords. The accusations against Franklin are very personal and degrading and finally force Franklin to become a revolutionary.

Chapter 8: *The Fleet Arrives in Boston* 51:42—53:22

In spring 1774, Parliament sends in a fleet including heavily-armed warships and regiments of regulars. The ships sail into Boston, encircle the port displaying their ships' cannons as if ready to fire on Boston, and land troops just as they would into an enemy port. The greatest fears of the colonists—British tyranny—seem to have come true. The Massachusetts legislature is disbanded, and the court system and the entire government of Massachusetts are placed under the direct control of the Crown. The royal government is ready to put an end to the violence and lawlessness.

EPISODE 2: BLOWS MUST DECIDE

Chapter 1: ***Parliament Is Angry*** **2:25—5:15**

Parliament passes a series of acts designed to punish Boston for the Tea Party. Massachusetts is put under martial law and the Crown sends in a military governor, General Thomas Gage. The port of Boston is closed under what Parliament calls these the Coercive Acts; the Americans call them the Intolerable Acts. The colonial legislatures fear that what is happening to Massachusetts could just as easily and quickly happen to any colony.

Chapter 2: ***The Continental Congress Meets*** **5:16—11:48**

In August 1774, John Adams leaves Boston for Philadelphia to represent Boston in the Continental Congress. On September 5, 1774, the fifty-six delegates to the Continental Congress begin deliberations. After two months of discussions, the colonies represented in the congress pass several petitions. One petition fully supports Massachusetts's demands that King George III end of military rule in Boston. Another affirms their loyalty to him and Britain. Further, the delegates pass a resolution that the colonists should arm themselves and prepare to defend themselves with force, if necessary, against any future British aggression.

Chapter 3: ***A Sense of Betrayal*** **11:50—13:53**

When King George III hears that the colonists agree to arm themselves, he is ready to take even more drastic measures to show the colonists who is in charge of governing the colonies. Members of Parliament, even some of the strongest supporters to date of the colonial position, see the colonial actions as a rebellion within the family. They agree that they must restore civil order and the authority of the royal government. In what they consider a police action, they send another thousand soldiers to Boston, along with three new generals: Burgoyne, Clinton, and Howe.

Chapter 4: *The Shot Heard Round the World* 13:55—20:32

Throughout the colonies, people respond quickly to the Continental Congress's call to arms. In Massachusetts, the citizens grow more openly defiant of the civil laws and royal authority. General Gage receives reports that the rebels have stored a large cache of munitions in Concord and decides to send troops to capture these munitions. In Lexington, the local militia turns out to meet the Crown troops. A gun goes off, and the British troops begin firing, their officers losing control of them. The British march to Concord and capture the store of munitions. Hundreds of minutemen from neighboring communities swarm in around them. Two hundred and sixty-nine Crown soldiers are killed or wounded. Throughout the colonies news of Lexington and Concord spreads like wildfire.

Chapter 5: *Congress Chooses a General* 20:34—24:44

In May 1775, a second Continental Congress assembles in Philadelphia. The colonies have to prepare to fight a major war, but there is no army, simply local militia. They fear having a standing army, yet they see no alternative. Congress decides to take the ragtag collection of volunteers camped around Boston and form a national army. Then, after a contentious debate, they appoint George Washington as Commanding General of the Army of the Colonies United. Washington, at age forty-three, accepts the position and immediately sets out for Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Chapter 6: *Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill* 24:45—28:37

As congress deliberates, the first major engagement of the American revolution is fought. In May and June 1775, militia forces move in to occupy Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill on the Charlestown peninsula outside Boston. The Crown forces respond by burning nearby Charlestown, and then 2,000 Crown soldiers charge uphill towards the American positions. Line after line of Crown soldiers are mowed down, but, when the American ammunition runs out, the Crown troops finally take both Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill.

Chapter 7: *An Army That Wasn't an Army* 28:38—33:00

Washington arrives at the colonial encampment in Cambridge at the end of June 1775. He finds an army that is not an army; it is a bunch of citizens together with a common cause and none of the professionalism that he really needs. He immediately begins to enforce discipline, to change the way officers are chosen and to convince his men that the enemy is indeed the enemy. Washington is also shocked to find blacks and whites together. He quickly learns that he needs every soldier he can get. As a result, over 25,000 black soldiers fight on both sides during the American Revolution.

Chapter 8: *An Olive Branch* 33:02—39:00

Abigail Adams is not alone in hoping that the disagreements between the colonists and England could end without further fighting. Most colonists are desperate for reconciliation and still believe that the differences can be reconciled. John Dickinson, an early activist and one of John Adams's personal heroes, calls for reconciliation. He drafts a petition bypassing Parliament and addressing the king directly. The Olive Branch Petition is seen as the last best hope for peace. At the same time that he receives this petition, the king receives news of the colonists' slaughter of royal troops in the Battle of Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill. He is in no mood for forgiveness or reconciliation. He declares the colonies enemies. The royal ministers order the navy to attack New England seaport towns. The members of the Continental Congress are stunned. Like it or not, the colonists have a full scale war on their hands.

Chapter 9: *Common Sense* 39:01—43:59

Thomas Paine looks beyond independence to a radical new idea: the proposition that ordinary people can understand and participate in government. This is a total rejection of the Old World view that only aristocrats and a monarch can and therefore should rule. Published in January 1776, Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense* instantly becomes the greatest best seller the colonies have ever known. Over 100,000 legal copies are sold within months. Parts of it are reprinted in newspapers throughout the colonies. More and more people begin to sense possibilities in one or more of the new systems of government that independence might bring.

Chapter 10: ***Independence*** **44:00—53:35**

In March 1776, all the Crown forces evacuate Boston and regroup for a massive invasion of New York City. Congress orders Washington to take his entire army to New York City to defend it at all cost. In early June, congress begins considering a resolution to sever all political ties with Britain and appoint a committee to write a statement that would declare to the world why the colonies wanted to be independent from Britain. The resolution for independence is passed by the Continental Congress on July 2. On July 4, congress reviews the draft of the statement, and after long debate, they change much of the document but leave untouched Thomas Jefferson's stirring preamble. On this same day, they approve the document we know as the Declaration of Independence. The document is approved two days after congress has officially voted the states independent of the British Empire. Nearly three weeks later, the members sign this document of justification.

EPISODE 3: THE TIMES THAT TRY MEN'S SOULS

Chapter 1: ***News of Independence*** **2:28—4:11**

Washington's army in New York City on July 9, 1776, receives news that the Continental Congress officially acted on July 2 to separate the colonies from the British Empire. The news of the decision for independence resulted in mixed reactions by people on both sides.

Chapter 2: ***The Invasion Force Arrives*** **4:15—11:02**

At about the same time as Washington's army hears that the resolution for independence has been approved, a combined Crown army and navy force arrives after a three month absence from the colonies. This invasion force included 30 fully-armed battleships, 30,000 soldiers, 10,000 sailors and 1,200 cannon. This is the largest military invasion by the English until the twentieth century. The commanding officers are the Howe brothers, William and Richard. The king and Parliament want everyone to know that they are not going to give up. If they are to leave, they must be defeated on the battlefield or the colonists must agree to reconciliation. Washington's refusal to surrender or to discuss terms of peace and a pardon with General William Howe means that war is the only alternative.

Chapter 3: ***Two Different Armies*** **11:04—16:52**

In the beginning, the leading Crown generals have a low opinion of the colonists as fighting men, either separately or in units. They also have little respect for Washington. Washington also has little respect for the quality of men who are serving under him. Meanwhile, Washington's opinion of himself is very high. He is very concerned that people view him as a gentlemen, hero, and person who does what is proper. The colonists view themselves first as Virginians, New Yorkers and Massachusetts people, and they are more inclined to identify themselves with their colony than with an abstraction called America.

Chapter 4: *The Battle for Long Island* 16:54—23:20

Left with no alternatives, the Howes know that they must defeat the colonists on the battlefield. They want to do this quickly, decisively and with typical British efficiency. The Crown forces includes 10,000 German soldiers, called Hessians. The Battle of Long Island is the first full-scale military battle of the war. The colonists hold their ground very well, much to the surprise of both sides. Eventually, an unguarded pathway pointed out by a Tory allows the Crown army to encircle the colonists. The rout and the slaughter of the colonial army often by bayonets is on. The Crown army corners the colonial army and quits fighting in expectation of a surrender or the final battle the next morning.

Chapter 5: *Washington Slips Away* 23:22—29:27

Much to their surprise, under cover of darkness, Washington ferries every soldier to the mainland. The retreat of 1776 begins. Over several days his army is forced to retreat time and time again. Washington has difficulty getting his army organized and prepared to stand their ground. He realizes that, if he is to continue, then things have to be different in the future.

Chapter 6: A *Shift in Strategy* 29:29—35:14

Washington is humiliated, and the Continental Congress is upset and anxious. To win the war, the colonial forces need a well-disciplined and large standing army—a thing that most English citizens fear. Congress has to find a way to pull together men from all the colonies and discipline them so that they could fight the war armies did in Europe. Until such an army is available, Washington has no choice but to rely on small hit-and-run skirmishes. The Crown army hates Washington's manner of waging the war, but it is forced to adjust its own activities to meet this new type of warfare. In three months the Crown forces captures or controls eastern New York and enters New Jersey with very little opposition. They offer the colonists one more opportunity to surrender. Again the colonists refuse.

Chapter 7: *Washington Asks for a Permanent Army* 35:16—39:50

Beginning in late fall 1776 the Continental army disintegrates rapidly. Most men have signed up for short terms and go home as soon as their term of duty ends. The soldiers have not been paid, and they have supplied much of their own food, clothing and ammunition. The Continental Congress is directly in charge of the army, including its funding, but it does not have the power to tax, so it cannot get money for the army by direct taxation. Some members of congress do not want a strong, well-disciplined standing army, and others begin to doubt Washington's competence as a leader and a general.

Chapter 8: *All Is Quiet* 39:52—45:23

By early December 1776, the Crown and Hessian troops settle down for the winter months. This is the custom in European warfare. As December comes to a close, the Crown generals are certain that they have gained the upper hand in the colonies. Many colonists have changed their minds and sign loyalty pledges to the Crown. The Crown generals have not lost a battle. They are certain that victory will come in the next year in the central colonies. They also begin their strategy to take control of the New England colonies.

Chapter 9: *Victory or Death* 45:25—51:31

In mid-December Washington knows that many of his soldiers are due to go home shortly before or after Christmas. To lift the spirits of the colonists, he decides to risk his entire army in one battle. He leads his men across the Delaware River and surprises the Hessians at Trenton. The ruse is successful: they take Trenton along with 1,200 Hessian prisoners. Although in military terms this is a minor victory, it is a major psychological, emotional and propagandistic victory for the colonists.

Chapter 10: *The Tide Turns* 51:33—53:43

The victory at Trenton is quickly followed up by a similar attack at Princeton. Although not very important in terms of military importance, victories at Trenton and Princeton changed the attitudes of people throughout the colonies. They begin to think that perhaps the Crown forces can be defeated on the battlefield. For these and other reasons, men from all the colonies started signing up for the Continental army under Washington. These victories also changed opinions towards Washington. From Christmas Day 1776 to the end of the war, he seems to be able to do no wrong.

EPISODE 4: OH, FATAL AMBITION

Chapter 1: *Benjamin Franklin Arrives in France* 2:31—5:41

On December 23, 1776, Franklin, the first United States ambassador to France, arrives on a secret mission to get King Louis XVI to expand French aid to the United States in the form of money and military supplies and to obtain an official declaration of war by France against England. However, Louis XVI is not anxious to enter the war.

Chapter 2: *Gentleman Johnny* 5:45—8:52

General John Burgoyne is selected to lead one of the massive movements against the colonists. He is dashing, pompous, self-assured, charming and a person who views himself as larger than life. He has worked hard behind the scenes to be appointed to lead this army in the campaign to split the northern colonies. He leaves New York City sensing an easy victory over any colonies who dared face him.

Chapter 3: *The Northern Strategy* 8:54—12:32

General Burgoyne leads the Crown generals in a strategy to cut the colonies in half and then turn crush the rebels in the North. General Burgoyne is to move southward from the north of New York to join with William Howe's army coming north up the Hudson River via Albany. Burgoyne convinces some of the local Native Americans of the Iroquois Confederacy to join the Crown's side, but others choose to support the colonies. Within weeks, the centuries-old Iroquois Confederacy is torn apart. Meanwhile, Howe decides to capture Philadelphia, but Burgoyne is unaware of this change in plans. Burgoyne captures Ft. Ticonderoga without a fight. News of his early and easy victories reaches England. King George and his ministers believe a victory over the rebels is only weeks or months away.

Chapter 4: ***Franklin the Charmer*** 12:36—15:07

For more than six months after arriving in France, Louis XVI still refuses to accept Franklin as an ambassador from the newly-formed United States of America. Franklin finds supporters among many intellectuals, merchants and members of the French aristocracy. France waits for proof that the colonists can hold their own against the Crown forces. To get France officially into the war, Franklin needs the colonists to win on the battlefield. Needless to say, the news of the capture of Ft. Ticonderoga by Burgoyne is not what Franklin wanted to hear.

Chapter 5: ***Burgoyne Continues His Way South*** 15:09—23:58

Besides the 7,000 men in his army, over 2,000 camp followers travel with Burgoyne. Burgoyne also brings thirty wagon-loads of his personal possessions. The supply wagons alone for this expedition is over one mile long. After traveling down Lake George as far south as he thinks necessary, Burgoyne orders his men ashore. The rest of the way has to be hacked out tree by tree in the densest forest his men have ever encountered. In addition, the recently-created northern army of the United States and thousands of colonial militiamen who come out to harass, delay and fire upon Burgoyne's invasion army. Burgoyne expects to meet Howe's army in or outside of Albany. Not until it is too late to retreat does Burgoyne find out that Howe decided to go to Philadelphia.

Chapter 6: ***Burgoyne Talks Too Much*** 24:00—27:54

As Burgoyne moves south, he sends ahead announcements designed to get support from the colonists. Civilians are then told Burgoyne's army is going to help itself to the food the colonists have for their animals. Burgoyne's Indian allies are supposed to be the scouts, eyes and ears of the invasion force. Colonists are afraid of what the Indians might do.

Their fear and anger increase when the Indians murder Jane McCrea during one of their raiding parties. The colonial propagandists use McCrea's death to their advantage. Soon all the colonies hear of her bravery, the savagery of the Indians and the evil of the British for using the Indians against defenseless women and children.

Chapter 7: *Supplies Get Shorter* 27:56—31:55

The colonists react to Burgoyne's advance by doing everything they can to delay him. The colonists fight their style of war in their wilderness. The delay in his advance means that his men and animals are eating more than he planned. Supplies get shorter and shorter. Desperate for food for his animals and men, he sends out soldiers into the countryside. They injure the population, invade homes and farmlands, and take what they want, usually without paying for it. Their actions only increase the opposition against them. The people fear the British and the diseases that armies often bring with them; the worst disease is smallpox, which spreads rapidly throughout the region. Thousands of colonists contract the disease, and many die a horrible death.

Chapter 8: *Time Is Slipping Away* 31:57—37:07

On August 1, Burgoyne's troops arrive at Ft. Edwards. The last twenty-three miles take one month. He sends some soldiers to Bennington to get fresh horses from colonists whom he heard are Loyalists. In a surprising decision, the men he chooses for this mission are Hessians, who cannot speak English. In a trap, all the Hessians are either killed or captured. Burgoyne has miscalculated. Not only are most colonists hostile to the British cause, but they are also armed. The failure of the Hessian attempt to get supplies alerts Burgoyne that he can get almost nothing from the colonists. He is alone and has to fight with what supplies he has.

Chapter 9: *The Americans Assemble* 37:09—40:52

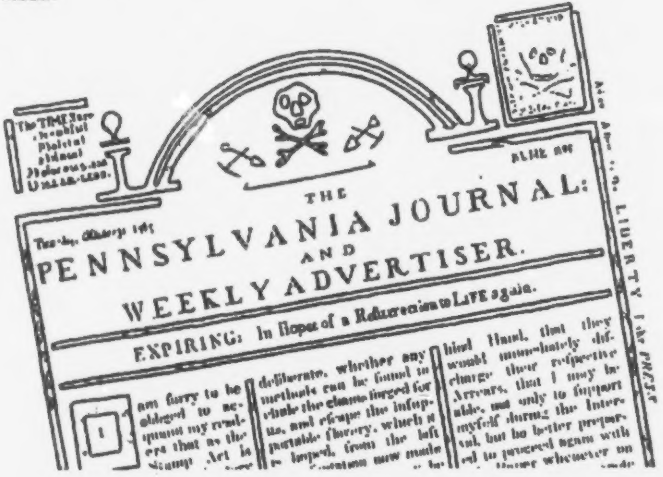
Outside of Albany, the colonists, under the command of General Horatio Gates, gather for the blockage of Burgoyne from going any farther. Burgoyne moves towards Saratoga, just twenty miles from Albany. His Indian scouts desert his army. He can no longer get reliable information on his enemy. Little does he know that already over 7,000 men are waiting in front of him.

Chapter 10: *Burgoyne's Last Month* 40:53—50:35

On September 19, Burgoyne, facing Gates's army of over 10,000 men, moves his army into a clearing at Freeman's Farm along the only road to Albany and safety. Gates's men open fire, many aiming deliberately at the officers in a flagrant breach of military etiquette. Burgoyne retreats. On October 7, another battle near Freeman's Farm is fought. Burgoyne's army turns the tide of the battle, but Benedict Arnold leads a counter-attack that forces Burgoyne to retreat. Burgoyne is surprised by the size and discipline of the army which he faces. This is not the undisciplined rabble that he expected.

Chapter 11: *Burgoyne Surrenders* 50:36—53:54

Burgoyne, his army almost surrounded with supplies gone and no hope of being saved by Howe's army, surrenders on October 17, 1777. Burgoyne personally hands his sword to Gates who immediately returns it. News of the surrender reaches Paris. Franklin, deeply disappointed by the news that General Howe has taken Philadelphia, finds the news of Burgoyne's surrender is just the news that he needs. He is now in a position to convince the French king to join the war effort, thus forcing Britain to turn her attention many of places other than just the thirteen American colonies.



426

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

EPISODE 5: THE WORLD TURNED UPSIDE DOWN

Chapter 1: Hope for Victory in the South 2:26—4:34

In late 1779, the war shifts to the southern colonies. Many people in high society in this region have much money, large plantations and many of the niceties of life. There are reports of wide-spread support for the Crown in these colonies. Paradoxically, many of the rich there who fight for liberty and freedom own slaves. The Crown generals hope to entice thousands of slaves to join the Crown and fight the slaveowners.

Chapter 2: *The Invasion of the South* 4:47—10:58

In December 1779, the war in the colonies is a stalemate. The Crown is unable to win in the northeast and middle colonies. The southern colonies provide some hope for a victory that could be used to recapture the remaining colonies. Charleston is the city selected as the opening target for the new campaign. The city surrenders after six weeks. Georgia is quickly subdued and much of South Carolina comes under the control of Crown forces. Victory in the southern colonies seems assured. Part of the plan for victory in the South is to encourage slaves to desert their masters and join the Crown army. There are immediate signs that this strategy is very successful. Meanwhile, white slaveowners are frightened by the number blacks who are leaving and taking defensive measures.

Chapter 3: *One Plan Backfires* 11:00—16:41

After initial victories, General Clinton returns to New York while General Charles Cornwallis is left in charge of the southern campaign. The second part of the Crown plan includes defeating the rebel armies in small units, finding the Loyalists and arming them, using these Loyalists to help the Crown army to defeat more rebel units, and using these Loyalists to set up local governments led by officials loyal to the Crown. Part of the southern plan ignites a civil war rather than securing the colonies under Crown authority. Again, a plan that seems so promising works against the Crown.

Chapter 4: *Betrayal* 16:43—20:35

Early in 1780, after five years of war and two incredibly hard winters at Valley Forge and Morristown, General Washington remains outside New York hoping to contain Clinton's army from expanding into the countryside. The situation is desperate for the colonial cause and the army. Congress has little money and supplies are limited. Then Washington receives word that General Benedict Arnold has turned traitor. Arnold has been a genuine hero for the colonial cause. His betrayal shakes up the people in the colonies, the army and Washington. Through it all, Washington manages to keep an army on the field and the colonial cause alive.

Chapter 5: *The French Arrive* 20:37—26:22

Washington's great hope is aid from the French. The fighting attracts a number of idealistic foreign volunteers, many of them noblemen. One of these is Baron von Steuben. Another is the nineteen-year-old Marquis de Lafayette. Lafayette and Washington became close friends, and Lafayette plays an important part in getting King Louis XVI to send an army to Washington's aid. By the end of 1780, 6,000 French troops land at Newport under the command of General Jean Baptiste Rochambeau. Rochambeau is shocked by the state of Washington's army and the conditions in the county. Privately he believes the colonial cause is all but lost.

Chapter 6: *We Are like a Crab* 26:24—35:00

In 1780 Washington appoints General Nathanael Greene to take command of the Continental army in the South. Greene is appalled by what he observes in terms of the brutality and the extent of the hatred between the Loyalists and the rebels. Greene is not so much interested in winning battles as winning the war. He loses every battle, draws Cornwallis's army nearly 200 miles inland, leads Cornwallis across three states, and avoids disaster by maneuvers Greene himself likens to the movements of a crab. Meanwhile, Cornwallis's forces find themselves victorious but exhausted, hungry, sick and miles from their major source of supplies, the British navy. In early summer 1781 Cornwallis decides that he cannot continue without reinforcements and supplies. He chooses to move his headquarters to Yorktown, Virginia, and wait for orders, supplies and reinforcements. Greene is right behind, aside or in front of him the entire way.

Chapter 7: *"The French! The French!"* **35:02—36:57**

While Greene and Cornwallis are maneuvering and battling in the South, the French army under Rochambeau camps by itself in Rhode Island for nearly a year. Rochambeau refuses to attack New York as Washington wants. He knows that his French soldiers will quickly lose faith in their commanders if forced into a battle that cannot be won. Washington is extremely frustrated by Rochambeau's resistance to this attack. In Washington's view, the French are continually raising his hopes and then letting them down.

Chapter 8: *It Will Take a Miracle* **37:00—40:19**

August 14, 1781, Rochambeau receives a message from Admiral François de Grasse that his sizable French naval force will soon enter the Chesapeake Bay area around Yorktown. De Grasse reports that his fleet will be available to help the ground forces until October 15. Washington and Rochambeau plan a strategy that will destroy Cornwallis's position along the Virginia coast. Meanwhile de Grass has to defeat the Crown navy and prevent Cornwallis's escape by sea. On land, Washington and Rochambeau lead 17,000 troops south through Philadelphia to confront Cornwallis's 9,000 troops. Cornwallis waits for reinforcements.

Chapter 9: *Cornwallis Digs In* **40:21—45:45**

Cornwallis and his army are camped on the river's edge. Facing them are the French and Continental armies. Behind him is the French fleet. He has nowhere to go on land or water. Trapped, he orders his men to dig in. They will wait for supplies and reinforcements. The French and Continental forces slowly move forward in trenches. As supplies get lower and room scarcer, Cornwallis forces the 3,000–5,000 black volunteers fighting with him out of the fortifications. They are on their own, most unarmed. Hundreds are killed or wounded trying to get past the Americans and French. Few escape.

Chapter 10: ***Surrender at Yorktown*** 45:47—53:42

On October 17 Cornwallis sends out a white flag of truce. Two days later, his troops surrender their arms to Washington. Rochambeau insists that this surrender be directly to the Americans rather than to the French. Less than a week later, General Clinton's supply and reinforcement ships arrive. It is too late. The French navy has returned to the Caribbean, and Cornwallis' soldiers are prisoners of war. Seeing it can be of no help to stay in the area, the royal supply ships return to New York City. In England, the news of Cornwallis' surrender turns public opinion against the government. King George III reluctantly accepts that the colonies are not longer Britons.

EPISODE 6: ARE WE TO BE A NATION?

Chapter 1: ***Thirteen Little Republics*** 2:47—7:35

George Washington surrenders his sword and position as commander of the army to the Continental Congress. He could use the army to make him king or accept a major role in the government run by the congress. He refuses. He wants to withdraw from public life and return to his plantation. Washington's resignation following the war takes place in a situation where thirteen little republics—each formerly a colony—have to decide how they should be governed. Each nation's leaders decide their future by words and ideas rather than by force and blood.

Chapter 2: ***Winners and Losers*** 7:47—14:10

The war is over. The colonists who supported the war effort consider themselves winners. They get independence from Britain and all the land west to the Mississippi. The soldiers return home, glad the war is over. White servitude in the form of indentured servants drops sharply and by 1800 disappears altogether. Many blacks in the North are able to use the new state constitutions to win their emancipation. Meanwhile, more than 100,000 Loyalists decide to leave America.

Chapter 3: A *National Vision* 14:14—19:04

The war ends with thirteen separate nations in a lose confederation. Each state is in full control of all the responsibilities of an independent nation. Their constitution is the Articles of Confederation. For many in these nation-states, this is the best form of government they could have. At the same time, others want a strong national government rather than the central government under a confederation. They see this unified nation taking advantage of its land, resources and people to shape a nation that would be the envy of the world. The vast majority of people, however, still link their identity to their states and not the country under the confederation. They want the benefits of independence by controlling their own futures free of a stronger national government.

Chapter 4: *All Is Not Well* 19:06—24:30

Even before 1783, there are growing problems under the confederation. Britain is slow in leaving the western territories, and the nation-states have no national army or navy to do anything about it. There are unsettled border disputes, problems with commerce between the nation-states, and a bankrupt treasury. However, the central government under the confederation cannot tax either states or people within the states. This government can only ask states to give it money. Concerned about their future, many leaders of the Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation agree that delegates from each state should meet soon to find a solution to the problems of government.

Chapter 5: A *Convention in Philadelphia* 24:32—30:58

To add prestige to the meeting of the delegates, George Washington comes out of retirement. Most delegates expect to spend their time revising the Articles of Confederation. A small group believe that the articles have to be abandoned and a new government designed. Those who attend this meeting in Philadelphia slowly convince themselves that they need to create a new nation. They decide that they should start from scratch rather than try to revise the articles.

Chapter 6: ***Blueprint for a New Nation*** 31:00—34:16

After almost four months the delegates emerge. They propose that the articles be abandoned. In its place they propose a new constitution. This constitution is their blueprint for a new nation and a new form of government. Under this new government, the central government has coercive powers over individuals and individual states. This is a radical departure from the powers of the central government under the articles. On September 19, 1787, the Constitution is made public. The issue now is to get enough states to approve it as the blueprint for a new national government while seriously reducing their own powers.

Chapter 7: ***Reactions Are Divided*** 34:18—40:54

Most people are shocked by the proposal. Virtually no one expected an entirely new system of government, especially one in which much power rested in a national government. The people just fought a war against a strong central government that had the power to tax and to regulate each colony. To them this new government looks suspiciously like the royal government they had been fighting against. The discussions on all matters related to the new constitution and government involve citizens in every state and at all levels. Their opinions and arguments result in the greatest outpouring of political thinking in Western history.

Chapter 8: ***Compromise and Approval*** 40:56—45:59

The first real test is Massachusetts. The delegates arrive expecting to reject the proposed Constitution, but eventually Massachusetts votes for the new constitution. Heated debates occur in every state. The Federalists have to compromise to gain the approvals they want. They agree that a bill of rights has to be added to the Constitution as quickly as possible once it is ratified by the states. Ten of the first twelve proposed amendments are approved and become the first ten amendments to the

Constitution. The Bill of Rights is the key to gaining approval of the Constitution and making Americans a single people all of whom possessed the same rights. Unfortunately, the framers of the Constitution have to compromise on the issue of slavery.

Chapter 9: ***We Have Become a Nation*** 46:01—53:42

From 1763 to 1788, a group of diverse people fought for independence from the strongest nation in the world at the time. They also invented a new form of government. Few people believed that it was possible to govern a large nation without a monarch. In spite of all the changes, many people do not view the American Revolution as a revolution at all. They look for the more dramatic, sudden clashes as in the French and Russian revolutions as evidence of a revolution. These people fail to realize that throughout America many fundamental changes in thinking about society, government, power, authority and rights occurred from 1763 to 1787. At the same time, the underlying ideological concepts, many tied to liberty and authority, remained the same.

ALPHABETICAL LISTING

A

- Abrams, George
  - on American Revolution, Native Americans in, 4/18:29
- Adams, Abigail
  - American Revolution and, 2/27:37; 4/31:16; 4/38:30
  - in England after the American Revolution, 6/12:51
  - on the occupation of New York, 3/27:21
  - on women and politics, 2/44:20; 2/45:11
- Adams, John
  - Adams, Abigail and, 2/27:12; 2/44:46
  - background, 2/06:35
  - background of, 1/08:48; 1/08:48
  - Berkin, Carol on, 2/06:53
  - British attack on Philadelphia and, 4/37:41
  - Declaration of Independence, 2/48:06; 2/52:17
  - First Continental Congress and, 2/06:15
  - in England after the American Revolution, 6/12:51
  - Jefferson, Thomas and, 2/48:06
  - nominates Washington, George as general, 2/21:08
  - on the occupation of New York, 3/28:06
  - petitions to England and, 2/35:04; 2/36:43
  - Second Continental Congress and, 2/21:08
  - Smith, Richard Norton on, 2/22:19
  - Wood, Gordon on, 2/07:10
- Adams, Samuel
  - American Revolution and, 1/35:20
  - First Continental Congress and, 2/08:35
  - United States Constitution, Ratification of and, 6/41:31
- African Americans
  - American Revolution and, 2/31:04; 5/04:04; 5/08:09; 5/42:25; 5/44:59; 6/48:45
  - Washington, Margaret on, 2/31:18; 5/08:23

  American Colonists
  Berkin, Carol on, 1/28:39
  British heritage and, 1/05:42; 1/05:42
  Burgoyne, John and, 4/33:17
  in 1760s, 1/07:41; 1/07:41
  social hierarchy and, 1/32:35
  Stamp Act and, 1/15:08
  value to England, 1/27:56
American Revolution
  Abrams, George on, 4/18:29
  Adams, Abigail and, 2/27:37; 4/31:06
  Adams, John and, 1/08:48; 2/05:17; 2/21:08; 2/34:16; 2/47:24; 3/28:06
  Adams, Samuel and, 1/35:20
  African Americans and, 2/31:04; 5/04:04; 5/08:09; 5/28:34; 5/42:25; 5/44:59; 6/48:45
  aftermath, 6/06:06
  American troops and, 3/11:43
  Arnold, Benedict and, 4/46:17; 5/18:39
  Battle at Brandywine Creek and, 4/43:33
  Battle of Breed's Hill, 2/24:47
  Battle of Bunker Hill, 2/24:47
  Battle of Lexington, 2/15:28
  Battle of Long Island, 3/16:25
  Berkin, Carol on, 4/16:20
  Black, Jeremy on, 4/33:17; 4/45:17; 5/11:46; 5/34:05; 5/38:07
  Bonwick, Colin on, 5/05:56; 5/51:10
  Boston Massacre, 1/38:37
  Boston Tea Party, 1/43:32; 2/02:24
  British aristocracy and, 1/11:30
  British attack Philadelphia, 4/37:07
  British capture Philadelphia, 4/43:33
  British occupy New Jersey, 3/39:54
  British occupy New York City, 3/25:44

435

British plan invasion of New York, 2/47:01
British send warship to Boston, 1/51:42
British surrender, 5/45:56
British troops, life of, 4/15:36
Brown, Christopher on, 6/48:45
Burgoyne, John and, 4/06:00; 4/09:56; 4/15:36; 4/17:37; 4/18:03; 4/23:59; 4/27:58; 4/29:33; 4/31:55; 4/33:17; 4/37:41; 4/39:17
Charleston falls to British, 5/06:29
Clinton, Henry and, 5/05:35
Coercive Acts and, 2/03:39
colonial troops and, 3/11:43; 3/14:17; 3/28:35
'Common Sense' published, 2/39:01
Congress and, 3/35:41; 3/39:54
Continental Congress, First, 2/04:30
Continental Congress, Second, 2/20:33
Cornwallis, Charles and, 5/10:58; 5/16:20; 5/28:34; 5/34:52; 5/39:12
Declaration of Independence and, 2/47:24;3/02:26
Declaratory Act and, 1/29:51
Dickinson, John and, 2/33:01
disease and, 4/30:27
Edmunds, R. David on, 4/19:15
Fort Edward and, 4/31:55
Fort Lee and, 3/37:21
Fort Ticonderoga and, 4/09:56
Fort Washington and, 3/37:12
France and, 4/02:23; 4/53:17; 5/04:35; 5/14:51; 5/20:35
Franklin, Benjamin and, 1/09:22; 1/24:32; 1/30:34; 1/38:20; 1/41:10; 4/02:23; 4/12:34; 4/51:33
Freeman's Farm and, 4/40:27
Frey, Sylvia on, 4/30:27; 5/09:10
Gates, Horatio and, 4/37:41; 4/45:35
Grasse, Count de and, 5/36:57
Greene, Nathanael and, 5/26:51
Hancock, John and, 3/35:41

Hessians and, 3/10:34; 4/15:36; 4/33:37
Higginbotham, Don on, 2/17:11; 2/25:47
Hoffman, Ron on, 5/10:36; 5/27:41; 5/30:25
Howe, Richard and, 3/07:12
Howe, William and, 3/07:12; 3/38:58; 3/41:20; 3/02:02:57; 3/12:20:27; 4/09:12; 4/22:30; 4/37:07
Hudson Champlain-Richelieu Corridor and, 4/07:36; 4/15:36
Hutchinson, Thomas and, 1/17:33; 1/37:01
Iroquois Indians and, 4/18:03; 4/39:17
Jamaica Pass, 3/20:27
Jefferson, Thomas and, 2/47:24
Keegan, John on, 3/15:55; 3/18:55; 3/23:54; 4/29:33; 5/33:19
King George III and, 1/03:26; 1/03:26; 1/26:25; 1/43:19; 2/11:53; 2/37:07; 3/03:43; 3/06:39; 4/12:19; 5/51:50
Lafayette, Marquis de and, 5/21:04; 5/35:02
Lopez, Claude-Anne on, 5/23:05
Loyalists and, 3/26:31; 4/32:50; 5/10:58; 6/10:30
Mackesy, Piers on, 4/36:33; 4/44:12
Maier, Pauline on, 1/05:42; 1/05:42; 2/19:14; 2/35:04; 2/42:27; 3/09:26; 3/30:03; 4/17:37; 5/29:00; 6/50:53
McCrea, Jane and, 4/26:43
Merrell, James on, 4/18:49; 4/26:01; 4/26:55
Neumann, George on, 2/16:47; 2/17:28; 2/26:27; 2/29:33; 3/20:27; 3/24:54; 3/29:03; 3/51:00; 4/11:17; 4/22:58; 4/27:25; 4/45:59; 4/47:10; 5/18:59; 5/30:50
New York City and, 3/04:14; 3/09:13; 3/25:44
Olive Branch Petition, The and, 2/33:01
Paine, Thomas and, 2/39:01
partisans and, 5/14:38
Revere, Paul and, 2/16:09
Rochambeau, Jean Baptiste de and, 5/24:06; 5/35:02
Rodger, N.A.M. on, 3/06:49; 3/11:03; 3/51:59; 4/42:54; 4/53:29; 5/32:50
Rush, Benjamin and, 1/03:26; 1/03:26; 6/51:37

  Saratoga and, 4/44:50
  Shy, John on, 2/47:39; 3/23:00; 3/31:37; 3/39:30; 3/40:53; 3/52:13; 3/53:27; 4/24:41; 4/28:52; 4/39:51
  slavery and, 5/08:09
  smallpox and, 4/29:59
  Smith, Richard Norton on, 1/07:41; 1/07:41; 5/19:33; 5/22:24; 5/47:27
  soldiers return home from, 6/08:25
  southern states and, 5/02:27; 5/26:22
  Stamp Act and, 1/15:08
  Trenton and, 3/47:14
  Washington, George and, 1/08:29; 1/13:05; 1/17:20; 1/18:59; 1/31:41; 2/08:35; 2/20:15; 2/21:08; 2/28:40; 2/47:01; 3/07:37; 3/15:05; 3/15:55; 3/24:20; 3/28:35; 3/48:07;
  Washington, Margaret on, 2/31:18; 5/08:23
  Will, George on, 6/50:10
  winter and, 3/39:54
  women and, 2/18:37
  Wood, Gordon, 5/18:04
  Wood, Gordon on, 2/19:28; 3/05:29; 3/13:39; 4/21:00
  Yorktown and, 5/34:52
Anti-Federalists
  Bill of Rights and, 6/43:31
  Massachusetts Ratifying Convention and, 6/41:31
  United States Constitution and, 6/37:19
Arnold, Benedict
  at Freeman's Farm, 4/46:17
  goes over to British, 5/18:39
  Neumann, George on, 4/47:10; 5/18:59
  Smith, Richard Norton on, 5/19:33
  Washington, George and, 5/19:33

438

B

- Bailyn, Bernard
  - on Boston Tea Party, 1/44:27
  - on Franklin, Benjamin, 1/42:29
  - on Hutchinson, Thomas, 1/44:27; 1/45:10
  - on United States Constitution, reaction to, 6/36:53; 6/37:38; 6/39:25; 6/40:36
- Berkin, Carol
  - on Adams, John, 2/06:53
  - on America after the Revolution, 6/17:32
  - on American colonists, 1/28:39
  - on Boston Tea Party, 1/45:23
  - on British troops, life of, 4/16:20
  - on Hamilton, Alexander, 6/15:19; 6/20:01
  - on Madison, James, 6/26:28
  - on social hierarchy, 1/33:20
  - on Stamp Act, 1/19:33
  - on United States Constitution, reaction to, 6/35:21
- Bill of Rights, Drafting of
  - Anti-Federalists and, 6/43:31
  - general, 6/43:31
  - Henry, Patrick and, 6/45:03
  - Madison, James and, 6/45:12
  - Webster, Noah and, 6/44:37
  - Wood, Gordon on, 6/46:36
- Black, Jeremy
  - on Boston Tea Party, 1/47:00; 2/02:12
  - on Burgoyne, John, 4/33:17; 4/45:17
  - on Cornwallis, Charles, 5/34:05
  - on First Continental Congress, 2/12:46
  - on Loyalists, 5/11:46
  - on reaction to Declaration of Independence, 3/06:19
  - on Yorktown, 5/38:07

- Bonwick, Colin
  - on America after the Revolution, 6/21:26
  - on American Revolution, 5/05:56; 5/51:10
- Boston Tea Party
  - background, 1/43:32
  - Bailyn, Bernard on, 1/44:27
  - Berkin, Carol on, 1/45:23
  - Black, Jeremy on, 1/47:00; 2/02:12
  - British reaction to, 1/47:00; 2/02:24
  - Hutchinson, Thomas and, 1/44:27
  - Maier, Pauline on, 1/46:06
- British Aristocracy
  - American Revolution and. 1/11:30
- Burgoyne, John
  - Albany and, 4/37:41
  - American Colonists, 4/33:17
  - American impede advance of, 4/27:58
  - army taken prisoner, 4/50:37
  - Black, Jeremy on, 4/33:17; 4/45:17
  - civilians and, 4/23:59
  - Fort Edward and, 4/31:55
  - Fort Ticonderoga and, 4/09:56
  - Howe, William and, 4/42:05
  - Hudson Champlain-Richelieu corridor and, 4/07:36; 4/15:36
  - Iroquois Indians, 4/18:03; 4/39:17
  - leads British troops from north, 4/06:00
  - Loyalists and, 4/33:17
  - Maier, Pauline on, 4/17:37
  - Rodger, N.A.M. on, 4/06:44
  - Saratoga and, 4/44:50
  - Shy, John on, 4/24:41; 4/28:52
  - supplies for troops and, 4/29:33
- Burke, Edmund
  - Stamp Act and, 1/25:08

C

- Clinton, Henry
  - sails south, 5/05:35
- Colonial Troops
  - dysentery and, 3/33:49
  - Keegan, John on, 3/30:32
  - Maier, Pauline on, 3/30:03
  - profile of, 3/11:43
  - recruitment of, 3/34:31
  - Shy, John on, 3/31:37
  - Washington, George on, 3/14:17
- 'Common Sense'
  - published, 2/39:01
- Constitutional Convention
  - begins, 6/24:31
  - Constitution drafted, 6/30:59
  - Greene, Jack on, 6/28:46
  - Henry, Patrick and, 6/29:17
  - Madison, James and, 6/26:17; 6/33:02
  - Peale, Charles Willson and, 6/25:30
  - secrecy around, 6/28:22
  - Washington, George and, 6/25:30
  - Wood, Gordon on, 6/27:58
- Continental Congress, First
  - Adams, John and, 2/05:17; 2/10:00
  - Adams, Samuel and, 2/08:25
  - Black, Jeremy on, 2/12:46
  - British reaction to, 2/11:53
  - delegates chosen for, 2/04:30
  - Hancock, John and, 2/08:35
  - Henry, Patrick and, 2/08:35
  - Hoffman, Ron on, 2/04:40; 2/10:51
  - King George III and, 2/12:21

  - meeting of, 2/08:35
  - sends a petition to the king, 2/10:24
  - Washington, George and, 2/08:35
  - Wood, Gordon on, 2/09:19
- Continental Congress, Second
  - Adams, John and, 2/21:08
  - Hancock, John and, 2/21:08
  - Hoffman, Ron on, 2/20:52
  - meets, 2/20:33
  - Washington, George and, 2/21:08
- Cornwallis, Charles
  - African Americans and, 5/42:25
  - controls the south, 5/10:58
  - Greene, Nathanael and, 5/28:34
  - Loyalists and, 5/16:20
  - Yorktown and, 5/34:52; 5/39:12
- Cresswell, Nicholas
  - diary of, 1/26:36; 2/14:30; 3/16:23; 3/52:58; 4/25:17

D

- Declaration of Independence
  - Adams, John and, 2/48:06
  - adoption of, 2/52:17
  - Black, Jeremy on, 3/06:19
  - British reaction to, 3/05:29
  - Jefferson, Thomas and, 2/48:06
  - Keegan, John on, 2/51:07
  - signing of, 3/02:26
  - Wood, Gordon on, 2/49:55; 3/03:09
  - writing of, 2/48:06

Declaratory Act
    boycott of goods and, 1/31:41
    passed, 1/29:51
    Washington, George and, 1/31:41
Dickinson, John
    Olive Branch Petition, The, and, 2/33:01
    American Revolution and, 2/33:01

ℰ

Edmunds, R. David
    on American Revolution, Native Americans in, 4/19:15

ℱ

Federalists
    Massachusetts Ratifying Convention and, 6/41:31
    United States Constitution and, 6/39:25
Franklin, Benjamin
    American Revolution and, 1/09:22; 1/09:22; 1/38:20; 1/41:10
    background of, 1/10:03; 1/10:03
    Bailyn, Bernard on, 1/42:29
    Bonwick, Colin on, 1/11:09; 1/11:09
    Declaratory Act and, 1/30:34
    king's Privy Council and, 1/47:36
    leaves England, 1/51:05
    Lopez, Claude-Anne on, 1/40:12; 1/50:36
    Maier, Pauline on, 4/14:38
    moves to England, 1/10:03; 1/10:03
    received by the French Court, 4/52:49
    Stamp Act and, 1/24:32
    travels to France, 4/02:23; 4/12:34; 4/51:33
    Vincent, Bernard on, 4/13:34
    Wood, Gordon on, 1/50:00; 4/04:49; 4/14:03

Frey, Sylvia
    on American Revolution, African Americans and, 5/09:10
    on American Revolution, disease and, 4/30:27
    on partisans in south, 5/14:51
    on Yorktown, 5/44:33

G

Gates, Horatio
    American Revolution and, 4/37:41; 4/45:35
Gorham, Nathaniel
    Prince Henry of Prussia and, 6/23:56
Grasse, Count de
    arrives in Virginia, 5/36:57
Greene, Jack
    on America after the Revolution, 6/06:49; 6/18:06
    on Constitutional Convention, 6/28:46
    on Stamp Act, 1/17:52
Greene, Nathanael
    Cornwallis, Charles and, 5/28:34
    Hoffman, Ron on, 5/27:41; 5/30:25
    Neumann, George on, 5/30:50
    sent to the South, 5/26:51

H

Hamilton, Alexander
    after the American Revolution, 6/14:12; 6/19:06
    background of, 6/14:54
    Berkin, Carol on, 6/15:19; 6/20:01
    on United States Constitution, 6/35:46; 6/39:36
Hancock, John
    American Revolution and, 3/35:41
    First Continental Congress and, 2/08:35

  Second Continental Congress and, 2/21:08
  Washington, George and, 3/44:39
Henry, Patrick
  Bill of Rights and, 6/45:03
  Constitutional Convention and, 6/29:17
  First Continental Congress and, 2/08:35
Hessians
  American Revolution and, 3/10:34; 4/15:36; 4/33:37
Higginbotham, Don
  on Battle of Bunker Hill, 2/25:47
  on Battle of Lexington, 2/17:11
Hoffman, Ron
  on American Revolution, African Americans and, 5/10:36
  on First Continental Congress, 2/04:40; 2/10:51
  on founding fathers, 1/12:34; 1/13:54
  on Greene, Nathanael, 5/27:41; 5/30:25
  on Second Continental Congress, 2/20:52
Howe, Richard
  American Revolution and, 3/07:12
  Washington, George and, 3/07:37
Howe, William
  American Revolution and, 3/07:12; 3/20:27; 3/38:58
  attack on Philadelphia and, 4/37:07
  Battle at Brandywine Creek and, 4/43:33
  Burgoyne, John and, 4/42:05
  captures Philadelphia, 4/43:33
  leaves New York, 4/22:30
  northern strategy and, 4/08:54
  private life of, 3/41:20
  Washington, George and, 3/07:37
Hutchinson, Thomas
  American Revolution and, 1/37:01
  Bailyn, Bernard on, 1/44:27; 1/45:10
  Boston Tea Party and, 1/44:27

445

house invaded, 1/22:12
king's Privy Council and, 1/47:36
on social hierarchy, 1/34:05
Stamp Act and, 1/17:33

I

Iroquois Indians
American Revolution and, 4/18:03; 4/39:17

J

Jefferson, Thomas
Adams, John and, 2/48:06
Declaration of Independence and, 2/48:06

K

Keegan, John
on American Revolution, 5/33:19
on colonial troops, 3/30:32
on combat tactics, 3/18:55; 3/23:54
on Declaration of Independence, 2/51:07
on supplying troops, 4/29:33
on Washington, George, 3/15:55
King George III
American Revolution and, 1/03:26; 1/03:26; 1/26:25; 1/43:19; 3/03:43; 3/06:39; 5/51:50
Battle of Bunker Hill and, 2/37:56
Fort Ticonderoga and, 4/12:19
Olive Branch Petition, The and, 2/37:07
reacts to First Continental Congress, 2/11:53

L

Lafayette, Marquis de
  American Revolution and, 5/21:04
  secures French troops, 5/24:06
  Smith, Richard Norton on, 5/22:24
  urges Rochambeau to take action, 5/35:02
  Washington, George and, 5/22:24
Lopez, Claude-Anne
  on Franklin, Benjamin, 1/40:12
  on Washington, George, 5/23:05
Loyalists
  after the American Revolution, 6/10:30
  American Revolution and, 4/32:50; 5/10:58
  Burgoyne, John and, 4/33:17

M

Mackesy, Piers
  on Burgoyne, John's campaign, 4/36:33
  on capture of Philadelphia, 4/43:33
Madison, James
  background of, 6/26:28
  Berkin, Carol on, 6/26:28
  Bill of Rights and, 6/45:12
  Constitutional Convention and, 6/26:04; 6/33:02
  on United States Constitution, 6/40:05
Maier, Pauline
  on America after the Revolution, 6/27:20
  on American Revolution, 6/50:53
  on American Revolution in the South, 5/29:00
  on Battle of Lexington, 2/19:14
  on Boston Tea Party, 1/46:06
  on British heritage of colonists, 1/05:42; 1/05:42

    on Burgoyne, John, 4/17:37
    on colonial troops, 3/30:03
    on defense of New York, 3/09:26
    on Franklin, Benjamin, 4/14:38
    on Massachusetts Ratifying Convention, 6/41:31
    on Paine, Thomas, 2/42:27
    on petitions to England, 2/35:04
    on Stamp Act, 1/20:30; 1/21:37; 1/23:12
    on Washington, George, 2/23:08
McCrea, Jane
    Merrell, James on, 4/26:55
    murder of, 4/26:43
Merrell, James
    on American Revolution, Native Americans in, 4/18:49; 4/26:01
    on McCrea, Jane, 4/26:55

N

Native Americans
    American Revolution and, 4/18:03; 4/39:17
Neumann, George
    on American Revolution, 4/22:58
    on Arnold, Benedict, 4/47:10; 5/18:59
    on Battle of Bunker Hill, 2/26:27
    on Battle of Lexington, 2/16:47; 2/17:28
    on Battle of Long Island, 3/20:27; 3/24:54
    on Fort Ticonderoga, 4/11:17
    on Greene, Nathanael, 5/30:50
    on McCrea, Jane, 4/27:25
    on victory at Trenton, 3/51:00
    on Washington, George, 2/29:33

448

P

Paine, Thomas
  'The American Crisis', 3/46:10
  'The American Crisis' and, 3/45:24
  background, 2/39:33
  'Common Sense' and, 2/39:01
  Maier, Pauline on, 2/42:27
  publishes 'Common Sense', 2/39:01
  Rodger, N.A.M. on, 2/40:31
  Washington, Margaret on, 2/40:57
Peale, Charles Willson
  PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON and, 6/25:30; 6/25:30

R

Revere, Paul
  American Revolution and, 2/16:09
Rochambeau, Jean Baptiste de
  commands French army, 5/24:06
  in Rhode Island, 5/35:02
  Lafayette, Marquis de and, 5/35:02
  Yorktown and, 5/39:38
Rodger, N.A.M.
  on American alliance with France, 4/53:29
  on American Revolution, 3/06:49; 5/32:50
  on Burgoyne, John, 4/06:44; 4/42:54
  on colonial troops, 3/11:03
  on Paine, Thomas, 2/40:31
  on Stamp Act, 1/15:42; 1/21:04
  on victory at Trenton, 3/51:59
Rush, Benjamin
  American Revolution and, 6/51:37
  visits throne room of King George III, 1/03:26; 1/03:26

S

Shay's Rebellion
    forming of the U.S. government and, 6/22:51
Shay, Daniel
    lead rebellion, 6/22:51
Shy, John
    on Native Americans' desertion of British army, 4/39:51
    on American Revolution, 2/47:39; 3/39:30; 3/40:53
    on Battle of Long Island, 3/23:00
    on Burgoyne, John, 4/24:41; 4/28:52
    on colonial troops, 3/31:37
    on victory at Trenton, 3/52:13
    on Washington, George, 3/43:00; 3/53:27
Slaves and Slavery
    American Revolution and, 5/08:09; 5/28:34; 6/48:45
Smith, Richard Norton
    Adams, John and, 1/08:48
    Franklin, Benjamin and, 1/09:22
    on Adams, John, 2/22:19
    on American colonists, 1/07:41; 1/07:41
    on Arnold, Benedict, 5/19:33
    on Lafayette, Marquis de, 5/21:52
    on surrender at Yorktown, 5/47:27
    on Washington, George, 2/28:59; 6/04:57
    on Washington, George and Congress, 3/36:26
    Washington, George and, 1/08:29
Stamp Act
    background, 1/15:08
    Berkin, Carol on, 1/19:33
    boycott of goods and, 1/23:39
    Burke, Edmund and, 1/25:08
    Franklin, Benjamin and, 1/24:43

    Greene, Jack on, 1/17:52
    Hutchinson, Thomas and, 1/17:33; 1/22:12
    Maier, Pauline, 1/20:30; 1/21:37
    reaction to, 1/16:53
    repeal of, 1/25:39
    Rodger, N.A.M. on, 1/15:42; 1/21:04
    Washington, George and, 1/17:20; 1/18:59
States' Rights
    after the American Revolution, 6/18:27
    border disputes and, 6/21:02
    Hamilton, Alexander and, 6/19:37
    taxes and, 6/21:52

U

United States Constitution, Ratification of
    Adams, Samuel and, 6/41:31
    Anti-Federalists and, 6/37:19
    Bailyn, Bernard on, 6/36:53; 6/37:38; 6/39:25
    Bill of Rights and, 6/43:31
    Federalists and, 6/39:25
    general, 6/30:59
    Maier, Pauline on, 6/41:31
    Massachusetts Ratifying Convention and, 6/40:54
    reaction to, 6/34:18
    Will, George on, 6/32:14
    Wood, Gordon on, 6/31:26

V

Vincent, Bernard
    on Franklin, Benjamin, 4/13:34

W

Walpole, Horace
    on Yorktown, 5/49:42
Washington, George
    American Revolution and, 2/20:15
    appeals to New England militia, 4/23:26
    Arnold, Benedict and, 5/19:33
    attack on Philadelphia and, 4/37:07
    attends Constitutional Convention, 6/25:30
    background of, 1/08:03; 1/13:05
    Congress and, 3/35:41; 3/43:30
    crosses Delaware River, 3/48:07
    crosses to New York, 3/24:20
    Declaratory Act and, 1/31:41
    First Continental Congress and, 2/08:35
    Hancock, John and, 3/44:29
    Howe, Richard and, 3/07:37
    Howe, William and, 3/07:37; 4/22:30
    in stalemate with British, 5/16:42; 5/35:02
    Keegan, John on, 3/15:55
    Lafayette, Marquis de and, 5/22:24
    leaves public life, 6/02:45
    Lopez, Claude-Anne on, 5/23:05
    Maier, Pauline on, 2/23:08
    Neumann, George on, 2/29:33; 3/29:03
    nominated General, 2/21:08
    northern strategy and, 4/08:54
    portrait of, 6/25:30
    record as an officer, 2/22:53
    retreat and, 3/32:14
    Second Continental Congress and, 2/21:08
    sends Greene, Nathanael to South, 5/26:51
    sends troops to Virginia, 5/37:44

  - sets up defenses in New York, 2/47:01
  - Shy, John on, 3/43:00; 3/53:27
  - Smith, Richard Norton on, 2/28:59; 2/30:04; 2/30:31; 3/36:26; 5/19:33; 5/22:24; 6/04:57
  - Stamp Act and, 1/17:20; 1/18:59
  - surprise attack of, 3/48:07
  - takes command of army, 2/28:40
  - troops and, 3/14:17; 3/28:35; 3/31:06
  - Washington, Martha and, 2/23:44
  - winter and, 3/42:48
  - Wood, Gordon on, 3/15:05
  - Yorktown and, 5/39:38
- Washington, Margaret
  - on American Revolution, African Americans and, 2/31:18; 5/08:23; 5/44:59
  - on Paine, Thomas, 2/40:57
- Washington, Martha
  - Washington, George and, 2/23:44
- Webster, Noah
  - Bill of Rights and, 6/43:59
  - on United States Constitution, 6/39:52
  - writes first American dictionary, 6/16:37; 6/16:37
- Will, George
  - on American Revolution, 6/50:10
  - on United States Constitution, 6/32:14
- Wood, Gordon
  - on Coercive Acts, 2/04:07
  - on Adams, John, 2/07:10
  - on America after the Revolution, 6/06:24; 6/12:06; 6/22:01
  - on American Revolution, 3/13:39
  - on Battle of Lexington, 2/19:28
  - on Bill of Rights, 6/46:36
  - on British troops, 4/21:00
  - on Declaration of Independence, 2/49:55; 3/03:09
  - on Franklin, Benjamin, 1/50:00

EVENTS

American Revolution
  Abrams, George on, 4/18:29
  Adams, Abigail and, 2/27:37; 4/31:06
  Adams, John and, 1/08:48; 2/05:17; 2/21:08; 2/34:16; 2/47:24; 3/28:06
  Adams, Samuel and, 1/35:20
  African Americans and, 2/31:04; 5/04:04; 5/08:09; 5/28:34; 5/42:25; 5/44:59; 6/48:45
  aftermath, 6/06:06
  American troops and, 3/11:43
  Arnold, Benedict and, 4/46:17; 5/18:39
  Battle at Brandywine Creek and, 4/43:33
  Battle of Breed's Hill, 2/24:47
  Battle of Bunker Hill, 2/24:47
  Battle of Lexington, 2/15:28
  Battle of Long Island, 3/16:25
  Berkin, Carol on, 4/16:20
  Black, Jeremy on, 4/33:17; 4/45:17; 5/11:46; 5/34:05; 5/38:07
  Bonwick, Colin on, 5/05:56; 5/51:10
  Boston Massacre, 1/38:37
  Boston Tea Party, 1/43:32; 2/02:24
  British aristocracy and, 1/11:30
  British attack Philadelphia, 4/37:07
  British capture Philadelphia, 4/43:33
  British occupy New Jersey, 3/39:54
  British occupy New York City, 3/25:44
  British plan invasion of New York, 2/47:01
  British send warship to Boston, 1/51:42
  British surrender, 5/45:56
  British troops, life of, 4/15:36
  Brown, Christopher on, 6/48:45
  Burgoyne, John and, 4/06:00; 4/09:56; 4/15:36; 4/17:37; 4/18:03; 4/23:59; 4/27:58; 4/29:33; 4/31:55; 4/33:17; 4/37:41; 4/39:17

Charleston falls to British, 5/06:29
Clinton, Henry and, 5/05:35
Coercive Acts and, 2/03:39
colonial troops and, 3/11:43; 3/14:17; 3/28:35
'Common Sense' published, 2/39:01
Congress and, 3/35:41; 3/39:54
Continental Congress, First, 2/04:30
Continental Congress, Second, 2/20:33
Cornwallis, Charles and, 5/10:58; 5/16:20; 5/28:34; 5/34:52; 5/39:12
Declaration of Independence and, 2/47:24; 3/02:26
Declaratory Act and, 1/29:51
Dickinson, John and, 2/33:01
disease and, 4/30:27
Edmunds, R. David on, 4/19:15
Fort Edward and, 4/31:55
Fort Lee and, 3/37:21
Fort Ticonderoga and, 4/09:56
Fort Washington and, 3/37:12
France and, 4/02:23; 4/53:17; 5/04:35; 5/14:51; 5/20:35
Franklin, Benjamin and, 1/09:22; 1/24:32; 1/30:34; 1/38:20; 1/41:10; 4/02:23; 4/12:34; 4/51:33
Freeman's Farm and, 4/40:27
Frey, Sylvia on, 4/30:27; 5/09:10
Gates, Horatio and, 4/37:41; 4/45:35
Grasse, Count de and, 5/36:57
Greene, Nathanael and, 5/26:51
Hancock, John and, 3/35:41
Hessians and, 3/10:34; 4/15:36; 4/33:37
Higginbotham, Don on, 2/17:11; 2/25:47
Hoffman, Ron on, 5/10:36; 5/27:41; 5/30:25
Howe, Richard and, 3/07:12
Howe, William and, 3/07:12; 3/38:58; 3/41:20; 3/02:02:57; 3/12:20:27; 4/09:12; 4/22:30; 4/37:07
Hudson Champlain-Richelieu Corridor and, 4/07:36; 4/15:36

Hutchinson, Thomas and, 1/17:33; 1/37:01
Iroquois Indians and, 4/18:03; 4/39:17
Jamaica Pass, 3/20:27
Jefferson, Thomas and, 2/47:24
Keegan, John on, 3/15:55; 3/18:55; 3/23:54; 4/29:33; 5/33:19
King George III and, 1/03:26; 1/03:26; 1/26:25; 1/43:19; 2/11:53; 2/37:07; 3/03:43; 3/06:39; 4/12:19; 5/51:50
Lafayette, Marquis de and, 5/21:04; 5/35:02
Lopez, Claude-Anne on, 5/23:05
Loyalists and, 3/26:31; 4/32:50; 5/10:58; 6/10:30
Mackesy, Piers on, 4/36:33; 4/44:12
Maier, Pauline on, 1/05:42; 1/05:42; 2/19:14; 2/35:04; 2/42:27; 3/09:26; 3/30:03; 4/17:37; 5/29:00; 6/50:53
McCrea, Jane and, 4/26:43
Merrell, James on, 4/18:49; 4/26:01; 4/26:55
Neumann, George on, 2/16:47; 2/17:28; 2/26:27; 2/29:33; 3/20:27; 3/24:54; 3/29:03; 3/51:00; 4/11:17; 4/22:58; 4/27:25; 4/45:59; 4/47:10; 5/18:59; 5/30:50
New York City and, 3/04:14; 3/09:13; 3/25:44
Olive Branch Petition, The and, 2/33:01
Paine, Thomas and, 2/39:01
partisans and, 5/14:38
Revere, Paul and, 2/16:09
Rochambeau, Jean Baptiste de and, 5/24:06; 5/35:02
Rodger, N.A.M. on, 3/06:49; 3/11:03; 3/51:59; 4/42:54; 4/53:29; 5/32:50
Rush, Benjamin and, 1/03:26; 1/03:26; 6/51:37
Saratoga and, 4/44:50
Shy, John on, 2/47:39; 3/23:00; 3/31:37; 3/39:30; 3/40:53; 3/52:13; 3/53:27; 4/24:41; 4/28:52; 4/39:51
slavery and, 5/08:09
smallpox and, 4/29:59
Smith, Richard Norton on, 1/07:41; 1/07:41; 5/19:33; 5/22:24; 5/47:27

  soldiers return home from, 6/08:25
  southern states and, 5/02:27; 5/26:22
  Stamp Act and, 1/15:08
  Trenton and, 3/47:14
  Washington, George and, 1/08:29; 1/13:05; 1/17:20; 1/18:59; 1/31:41; 2/08:35; 2/20:15; 2/21:08; 2/28:40; 2/47:01; 3/07:37; 3/15:05; 3/15:55; 3/24:20; 3/28:35; 3/48:07;
  Washington, Margaret on, 2/31:18; 5/08:23
  Will, George on, 6/50:10
  winter and, 3/39:54
  women and, 2/18:37
  Wood, Gordon, 5/18:04
  Wood, Gordon on, 2/19:28; 3/05:29; 3/13:39; 4/21:00
  Yorktown and, 5/34:52
Bill of Rights, Drafting of
  Anti-Federalists and, 6/43:31
  general, 6/43:31
  Henry, Patrick and, 6/45:03
  Madison, James and, 6/45:12
  Webster, Noah and, 6/44:37
  Wood, Gordon on, 6/46:36
Boston Tea Party
  background, 1/43:32
  Bailyn, Bernard on, 1/44:27
  Berkin, Carol on, 1/45:23
  Black, Jeremy on, 1/47:00; 2/02:12
  British reaction to, 1/47:00; 2/02:24
  Hutchinson, Thomas and, 1/44:27
  Maier, Pauline on, 1/46:06
Constitutional Convention
  begins, 6/24:31
  Constitution drafted, 6/30:59
  Greene, Jack on, 6/28:46
  Henry, Patrick and, 6/29:17

457

  - Madison, James and, 6/26:17; 6/33:02
  - Peale, Charles Willson and, 6/25:30
  - secrecy around, 6/28:22
  - Washington, George and, 6/25:30
  - Wood, Gordon on, 6/27:58
- Continental Congress, First
  - Adams, John and, 2/05:17; 2/10:00
  - Adams, Samuel and, 2/08:25
  - Black, Jeremy on, 2/12:46
  - British reaction to, 2/11:53
  - delegates chosen for, 2/04:30
  - Hancock, John and, 2/08:35
  - Henry, Patrick and, 2/08:35
  - Hoffman, Ron on, 2/04:40; 2/10:51
  - King George III and, 2/12:21
  - meeting of, 2/08:35
  - sends Petition to King, 2/10:24
  - Washington, George and, 2/08:35
  - Wood, Gordon on, 2/09:19
- Continental Congress, Second
  - Adams, John and, 2/21:08
  - Hancock, John and, 2/21:08
  - Hoffman, Ron on, 2/20:52
  - meets, 2/20:33
  - Washington, George and, 2/21:08
- Declaration of Independence
  - Adams, John and, 2/48:06
  - adoption of, 2/52:17
  - Black, Jeremy on, 3/06:19
  - British reaction to, 3/05:29
  - Jefferson, Thomas and, 2/48:06
  - Keegan, John on, 2/51:07
  - signing of, 3/02:26

  - Wood, Gordon on, 2/49:55; 3/03:09
  - writing of, 2/48:06
- Declaratory Act
  - boycott of goods and, 1/31:41
  - passed, 1/29:51
  - Washington, George and, 1/31:41
- Shay's Rebellion
  - forming of the U.S. government and, 6/22:51
- Stamp Act
  - background, 1/15:08
  - Berkin, Carol on, 1/19:33
  - boycott of goods and, 1/23:39
  - Burke, Edmund and, 1/25:08
  - Franklin, Benjamin and, 1/24:43
  - Greene, Jack on, 1/17:52
  - Hutchinson, Thomas and, 1/17:33; 1/22:12
  - Maier, Pauline, 1/20:30; 1/21:37
  - reaction to, 1/16:53
  - repeal of, 1/25:39
  - Rodger, N.A.M. on, 1/15:42; 1/21:04
  - Washington, George and, 1/17:20; 1/18:59
- United States Constitution, Ratification of
  - Adams, Samuel and, 6/41:31
  - Anti-Federalists and, 6/37:19
  - Bailyn, Bernard on, 6/36:53; 6/37:38; 6/39:25
  - Bill of Rights and, 6/43:31
  - Federalists and, 6/39:25
  - general, 6/30:59
  - Maier, Pauline on, 6/41:31
  - Massachusetts Ratifying Convention and, 6/40:54
  - reaction to, 6/34:18
  - Will, George on, 6/32:14
  - Wood, Gordon on, 6/31:26

ISSUES

Slaves and Slavery
    American Revolution and, 5/08:09; 5/28:34; 6/48:45
States' Rights
    after the American Revolution, 6/18:27
    border disputes and, 6/21:02
    Hamilton, Alexander and, 6/19:37
    taxes and, 6/21:52

MEDIA, ARTS & CULTURE

'Common Sense'
    published, 2/39:01
Paine, Thomas
    'Common Sense' and, 2/39:01
    'The American Crisis' and, 3/45:24
Peale, Charles Willson
    PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON and, 6/25:30
Webster, Noah
    writes first American dictionary, 6/16:37

ORGANIZATIONS & GROUPS

African Americans
    American Revolution and, 2/31:04; 5/04:04; 5/08:09; 5/42:25; 5/44:59; 6/48:45
    Washington, Margaret on, 2/31:18; 5/08:23
American Colonists
    Berkin, Carol on, 1/28:39
    British heritage and, 1/05:42; 1/05:42
    Burgoyne, John and, 4/33:17
    in 1760s, 1/07:41; 1/07:41
    social hierarchy and, 1/32:35
    Stamp Act and, 1/15:08
    value to England, 1/27:56
Anti-Federalists
    Bill of Rights and, 6/43:31
    Massachusetts Ratifying Convention and, 6/41:31
    United States Constitution and, 6/37:19
British Aristocracy
    American Revolution and, 1/11:30
Colonial Troops
    dysentery and, 3/33:49
    Keegan, John on, 3/30:32
    Maier, Pauline on, 3/30:03
    profile of, 3/11:43
    recruitment of, 3/34:31
    Shy, John on, 3/31:37
    Washington, George on, 3/14:17
Federalists
    Massachusetts Ratifying Convention and, 6/41:31
    United States Constitution and, 6/39:25
Hessians
    American Revolution and, 3/10:34; 4/15:36; 4/33:37
Iroquois Indians; 4/18:03; 4/39:17

Loyalists
    after the American Revolution, 6/10:30
    American Revolution and, 4/32:50; 5/10:58
    Burgoyne, John and, 4/33:17
Native Americans
    American Revolution and, 4/18:03; 4/39:17

PEOPLE

Abrams, George
  on American Revolution, Native Americans in, 4/18:29
Adams, Abigail
  American Revolution and, 2/27:37; 4/31:16; 4/38:30
  in England after the American Revolution, 6/12:51
  on occupation of New York, 3/27:21
  on women and politics, 2/44:20; 2/45:11
Adams, John
  Adams, Abigail and, 2/27:12; 2/44:46
  background, 2/06:35
  background of, 1/08:48; 1/08:48
  Berkin, Carol on, 2/06:53
  British attack on Philadelphia and, 4/37:41
  Declaration of Independence, 2/48:06; 2/52:17
  First Continental Congress and, 2/06:15
  in England after the American Revolution, 6/12:51
  Jefferson, Thomas and, 2/48:06
  nominates Washington, George as general, 2/21:08
  on occupation of New York, 3/28:06
  petitions to England and, 2/35:04; 2/36:43
  Second Continental Congress and, 2/21:08
  Smith, Richard Norton on, 2/22:19
  Wood, Gordon on, 2/07:10
Adams, Samuel
  American Revolution and, 1/35:20
  First Continental Congress and, 2/08:35
  United States Constitution, Ratification of and, 6/41:31
Arnold, Benedict
  at Freeman's Farm, 4/46:17
  goes over to British, 5/18:39
  Neumann, George on, 4/47:10; 5/18:59
  Smith, Richard Norton on, 5/19:33
  Washington, George and, 5/19:33

- Bailyn, Bernard
  - on Boston Tea Party, 1/44:27
  - on Franklin, Benjamin, 1/42:29
  - on Hutchinson, Thomas, 1/44:27; 1/45:10
  - on United States Constitution, reaction to, 6/36:53; 6/37:38; 6/39:25; 6/40:36
- Berkin, Carol
  - on Adams, John, 2/06:53
  - on America after the Revolution, 6/17:32
  - on American colonists, 1/28:39
  - on Boston Tea Party, 1/45:23
  - on British troops, life of, 4/16:20
  - on Hamilton, Alexander, 6/15:19; 6/20:01
  - on Madison, James, 6/26:28
  - on social hierarchy, 1/33:20
  - on Stamp Act, 1/19:33
  - on United States Constitution, reaction to, 6/35:21
- Black, Jeremy
  - on Boston Tea Party, 1/47:00; 2/02:12
  - on Burgoyne, John, 4/33:17; 4/45:17
  - on Cornwallis, Charles, 5/34:05
  - on First Continental Congress, 2/12:46
  - on Loyalists, 5/11:46
  - on reaction to Declaration of Independence, 3/06:19
  - on Yorktown, 5/38:07
- Bonwick, Colin
  - on America after the Revolution, 6/21:26
  - on American Revolution, 5/05:56; 5/51:10
- Burgoyne, John
  - Albany and, 4/37:41
  - American Colonists, 4/33:17
  - American impede advance of, 4/27:58
  - army taken prisoner, 4/50:37
  - Black, Jeremy on, 4/33:17; 4/45:17

  - civilians and, 4/23:59
  - Fort Edward and, 4/31:55
  - Fort Ticonderoga and, 4/09:56
  - Howe, William and, 4/42:05
  - Hudson Champlain-Richelieu corridor and, 4/07:36; 4/15:36
  - Iroquois Indians, 4/18:03; 4/39:17
  - leads British troops from north, 4/06:00
  - Loyalists and, 4/33:17
  - Maier, Pauline on, 4/17:37
  - Rodger, N.A.M. on, 4/06:44
  - Saratoga and, 4/44:50
  - Shy, John on, 4/24:41; 4/28:52
  - supplies for troops and, 4/29:33
- Burke, Edmund
  - Stamp Act and, 1/25:08
- Clinton, Henry
  - sails south, 5/05:35
- Cornwallis, Charles
  - African Americans and, 5/42:25
  - controls the south, 5/10:58
  - Greene, Nathanael and, 5/28:34
  - Loyalists and, 5/16:20
  - Yorktown and, 5/34:52; 5/39:12
- Cresswell, Nicholas
  - diary of, 1/26:36; 2/14:30; 3/16:23; 3/52:58; 4/25:17
- Dickinson, John
  - Olive Branch Petition, The and, 2/33:01
  - American Revolution and, 2/33:01
- Edmunds, R. David
  - on American Revolution, Native Americans in, 4/19:15
- Franklin, Benjamin
  - American Revolution and, 1/09:22; 1/09:22; 1/38:20; 1/41:10
  - background of, 1/10:03; 1/10:03
  - Bailyn, Bernard on, 1/42:29

  Bonwick, Colin on, 1/11:09; 1/11:09
  Declaratory Act and, 1/30:34
  king's Privy Council and, 1/47:36
  leaves England, 1/51:05
  Lopez, Claude-Anne on, 1/40:12; 1/50:36
  Maier, Pauline on, 4/14:38
  moves to England, 1/10:03; 1/10:03
  received by the French Court, 4/52:49
  Stamp Act and, 1/24:32
  travels to France, 4/02:23; 4/12:34; 4/51:33
  Vincent, Bernard on, 4/13:34
  Wood, Gordon on, 1/50:00; 4/04:49; 4/14:03
Frey, Sylvia
  on American Revolution, African Americans and, 5/09:10
  on American Revolution, disease and, 4/30:27
  on partisans in south, 5/14:51
  on Yorktown, 5/44:33
Gates, Horatio
  American Revolution and, 4/37:41; 4/45:35
Gorham, Nathaniel
  Prince Henry of Prussia and, 6/23:56
Grasse, Count de
  arrives in Virginia, 5/36:57
Greene, Jack
  on America after the Revolution, 6/06:49; 6/18:06
  on Constitutional Convention, 6/28:46
  on Stamp Act, 1/17:52
Greene, Nathanael
  Cornwallis, Charles and, 5/28:34
  Hoffman, Ron on, 5/27:41; 5/30:25
  Neumann, George on, 5/30:50
  sent to the South, 5/26:51

467

Hamilton, Alexander
    after the American Revolution, 6/14:12; 6/19:06
    background of, 6/14:54
    Berkin, Carol on, 6/15:19; 6/20:01
    on United States Constitution, 6/35:46; 6/39:36
Hancock, John
    American Revolution and, 3/35:41
    First Continental Congress and, 2/08:35
    Second Continental Congress and, 2/21:08
    Washington, George and, 3/44:39
Henry, Patrick
    Bill of Rights and, 6/45:03
    Constitutional Convention and, 6/29:17
    First Continental Congress and, 2/08:35
Higginbotham, Don
    on Battle of Bunker Hill, 2/25:47
    on Battle of Lexington, 2/17:11
Hoffman, Ron
    on American Revolution, African Americans and, 5/10:36
    on First Continental Congress, 2/04:40; 2/10:51
    on founding fathers, 1/12:34; 1/13:54
    on Greene, Nathanael, 5/27:41; 5/30:25
    on Second Continental Congress, 2/20:52
Howe, Richard
    American Revolution and, 3/07:12
    Washington, George and, 3/07:37
Howe, William
    American Revolution and, 3/07:12; 3/20:27; 3/38:58
    attack on Philadelphia and, 4/37:07
    Battle at Brandywine Creek and, 4/43:33
    Burgoyne, John and, 4/42:05
    captures Philadelphia, 4/43:33
    leaves New York, 4/22:30
    northern strategy and, 4/08:54

468

  private life of, 3/41:20
  Washington, George and, 3/07:37
Hutchinson, Thomas
  American Revolution and, 1/37:01
  Bailyn, Bernard on, 1/44:27; 1/45:10
  Boston Tea Party and, 1/44:27
  house invaded, 1/22:12
  king's Privy Council and, 1/47:36
  on social hierarchy, 1/34:05
  Stamp Act and, 1/17:33
Jefferson, Thomas
  Adams, John and, 2/48:06
  Declaration of Independence and, 2/48:06
Keegan, John
  on American Revolution, 5/33:19
  on colonial troops, 3/30:32
  on combat tactics, 3/18:55; 3/23:54
  on Declaration of Independence, 2/51:07
  on supplying troops, 4/29:33
  on Washington, George, 3/15:55
King George III
  American Revolution and, 1/03:26; 1/03:26; 1/26:25; 1/43:19; 3/03:43; 3/06:39; 5/51:50
  Battle of Bunker Hill and, 2/37:56
  Fort Ticonderoga and, 4/12:19
  Olive Branch Petition, The and, 2/37:07
  reacts to First Continental Congress, 2/11:53
Lafayette, Marquis de
  American Revolution and, 5/21:04
  secures French troops, 5/24:06
  Smith, Richard Norton on, 5/22:24
  urges Rochambeau to take action, 5/35:02
  Washington, George and, 5/22:24

469

Lopez, Claude-Anne
    on Franklin, Benjamin, 1/40:12
    on Washington, George, 5/23:05
Mackesy, Piers
    on Burgoyne, John's campaign, 4/36:33
    on capture of Philadelphia, 4/43:33
Madison, James
    background of, 6/26:28
    Berkin, Carol on, 6/26:28
    Bill of Rights and, 6/45:12
    Constitutional Convention and, 6/26:04; 6/33:02
    on United States Constitution, 6/40:05
Maier, Pauline
    on America after the Revolution, 6/27:20
    on American Revolution, 6/50:53
    on American Revolution in the South, 5/29:00
    on Battle of Lexington, 2/19:14
    on Boston Tea Party, 1/46:06
    on British heritage of colonists, 1/05:42; 1/05:42
    on Burgoyne, John, 4/17:37
    on colonial troops, 3/30:03
    on defense of New York, 3/09:26
    on Franklin, Benjamin, 4/14:38
    on Massachusetts Ratifying Convention, 6/41:31
    on Paine, Thomas, 2/42:27
    on petitions to England, 2/35:04
    on Stamp Act, 1/20:30; 1/21:37; 1/23:12
    on Washington, George, 2/23:08
McCrea, Jane
    Merrell, James on, 4/26:55
    murder of, 4/26:43
Merrell, James
    on American Revolution, Native Americans in, 4/18:49; 4/26:01
    on McCrea, Jane, 4/26:55

470

- Neumann, George
  - on American Revolution, 4/22:58
  - on Arnold, Benedict, 4/47:10; 5/18:59
  - on Battle of Bunker Hill, 2/26:27
  - on Battle of Lexington, 2/16:47; 2/17:28
  - on Battle of Long Island, 3/20:27; 3/24:54
  - on Fort Ticonderoga, 4/11:17
  - on Greene, Nathanael, 5/30:50
  - on McCrea, Jane, 4/27:25
  - on victory at Trenton, 3/51:00
  - on Washington, George, 2/29:33
- Paine, Thomas
  - 'The American Crisis', 3/46:10
  - background, 2/39:33
  - Maier, Pauline on, 2/42:27
  - publishes 'Common Sense', 2/39:01
  - Rodger, N.A.M. on, 2/40:31
  - Washington, Margaret on, 2/40:57
- Peale, Charles Willson
  - PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON and, 6/25:30
- Revere, Paul
  - American Revolution and, 2/16:09
- Rochambeau, Jean Baptiste de
  - commands French army, 5/24:06
  - in Rhode Island, 5/35:02
  - Lafayette, Marquis de and, 5/35:02
  - Yorktown and, 5/39:38

Rodger, N.A.M.
  on American alliance with France, 4/53:29
  on American Revolution, 3/06:49; 5/32:50
  on Burgoyne, John, 4/06:44; 4/42:54
  on colonial troops, 3/11:03
  on Paine, Thomas, 2/40:31
  on Stamp Act, 1/15:42; 1/21:04
  on victory at Trenton, 3/51:59
Rush, Benjamin
  American Revolution and, 6/51:37
  visits throne room of King George III, 1/03:26; 1/03:26
Shay, Daniel
  lead rebellion, 6/22:51
Shy, John
  on Native American's desertion of British army, 4/39:51
  on American Revolution, 2/47:39; 3/39:30; 3/40:53
  on Battle of Long Island, 3/23:00
  on Burgoyne, John, 4/24:41; 4/28:52
  on colonial troops, 3/31:37
  on victory at Trenton, 3/52:13
  on Washington, George, 3/43:00; 3/53:27
Smith, Richard Norton
  Adams, John and, 1/08:48
  Franklin, Benjamin and, 1/09:22
  on Adams, John, 2/22:19
  on American colonists, 1/07:41; 1/07:41
  on Arnold, Benedict, 5/19:33
  on Lafayette, Marquis de, 5/21:52
  on surrender at Yorktown, 5/47:27
  on Washington, George, 2/28:59; 6/04:57
  on Washington, George and Congress, 3/36:26
  Washington, George and, 1/08:29

Vincent, Bernard
  on Franklin, Benjamin, 4/13:34
Walpole, Horace
  on Yorktown, 5/49:42
Washington, George
  American Revolution and, 2/20:15
  appeals to New England militia, 4/23:26
  Arnold, Benedict and, 5/19:33
  attack on Philadelphia and, 4/37:07
  attends Constitutional Convention, 6/25:30
  background of, 1/08:03; 1/13:05
  Congress and, 3/35:41; 3/43:30
  crosses Delaware River, 3/48:07
  crosses to New York, 3/24:20
  Declaratory Act and, 1/31:41
  First Continental Congress and, 2/08:35
  Hancock, John and, 3/44:29
  Howe, Richard and, 3/07:37
  Howe, William and, 3/07:37; 4/22:30
  in stalemate with British, 5/16:42; 5/35:02
  Keegan, John on, 3/15:55
  Lafayette, Marquis de and, 5/22:24
  leaves public life, 6/02:45
  Lopez, Claude-Anne on, 5/23:05
  Maier, Pauline on, 2/23:08
  Neumann, George on, 2/29:33; 3/29:03
  nominated General, 2/21:08
  northern strategy and, 4/08:54
  portrait of, 6/25:30
  record as an officer, 2/22:53
  retreat and, 3/32:14
  Second Continental Congress and, 2/21:08
  sends Greene, Nathanael to the South, 5/26:51
  sends troops to Virginia, 5/37:44

  - sets up defenses in New York, 2/47:01
  - Shy, John on, 3/43:00; 3/53:27
  - Smith, Richard Norton on, 2/28:59; 2/30:04; 2/30:31; 3/36:26; 5/19:33; 5/22:24; 6/04:57
  - Stamp Act and, 1/17:20; 1/18:59
  - surprise attack of, 3/48:07
  - takes command of army, 2/28:40
  - troops and, 3/14:17; 3/28:35; 3/31:06
  - Washington, Martha and, 2/23:44
  - winter and, 3/42:48
  - Wood, Gordon on, 3/15:05
  - Yorktown and, 5/39:38

Washington, Margaret
  - on American Revolution, African Americans and, 2/31:18; 5/08:23; 5/44:59
  - on Paine, Thomas, 2/40:57

Washington, Martha
  - Washington, George and, 2/23:44

Webster, Noah
  - Bill of Rights and, 6/43:59
  - on United States Constitution, 6/39:52
  - writes first American dictionary, 6/16:37

Will, George
  - on American Revolution, 6/50:10
  - on United States Constitution, 6/32:14

474

Wood, Gordon
    on Coercive Acts, 2/04:07
    on Adams, John, 2/07:10
    on America after the Revolution, 6/06:24; 6/12:06; 6/22:01
    on American Revolution, 3/13:39
    on Battle of Lexington, 2/19:28
    on Bill of Rights, 6/46:36
    on British troops, 4/21:00
    on Declaration of Independence, 2/49:55; 3/03:09
    on Franklin, Benjamin, 1/50:00

475

LIBERTY! THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
is a production of KTCA in association with Middlemarch Films.

Funding for **LIBERTY! THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION** provided by Norwest Corporation.

*In The **N**th Degree*

National Endowment for the Humanities
The Arthur Vining Davis Foundations • The [illegible] Foundation

476